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like the sanctions of the exercise of sexual rights in marriage, are part of and take their form in the family group. Consequently, in the wider and larger alignments of individuals springing from the family which make up the kinship system, similar prohibitions occur.

For the kindred are the group within which marriage is prohibited. In a sense the formulation of the individuals in it as a group is an abstraction. Kinship bonds come ready formed to the newborn human being. The child is soon brought to know and adopt requisite behavior and sentiments toward the individuals with whom the other persons of his family are reciprocally bound.

Thus the Irish child very early meets his mother's and father's brothers and sisters; he runs errands and receives small gifts from them; as soon as he is able he carries presents. In later years of boyhood he does odd jobs for them; his labor is lent at cooring; he takes his place with them at the family table or round the hearth on visiting. At various times of crisis in his career, such as First Communion, Confirmation, and marriage, he receives gifts from them which signalize the intimacy between him and them. They share his parent's superordination to him, for they belong to the same older generation as his parents.

He is very likely, too, to be thrown constantly with their children, especially if they are substantially of the same age, where his uncles and aunts remain within visiting distance. In country regions, such as Luogh, nearly all of the families are united by complicated, reduplicated bonds of marriage and descent. There the boys and girls grow up together in constant association, both as "friends" and companions. It is with them that the natural course of development creates bonds of sentiment and mutual aid, quite like those within the family, which take the form of that "friendliness" at once obligatory and pleasurable seen in the account of farm work.

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Likewise, if such development of relations is carried a step higher, the brothers and sisters of the grandfather and grandmother, with their families down to the generation of the growing child himself, can retain an interest which springs out of the original brotherhood or sisterhood between them. The "friendliness," the give-and-take, the "welcome put down before" the individual, come quite naturally to the child at the hands of these relatives. His parents visit their own uncles and aunts, take occasional presents, lend them labor and so on. The child finds himself included; and he finds himself expected to adopt a similar intimacy of behavior with the children of these houses which he visits.

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In the generation of the father, his father's brothers and mother's brothers are known as uncles; their sisters are known as aunts, both terms being the usual English classificatory ones. In both Irish and English among country people, however, descriptive terms seem to be preferred, though the English terms have been taken into the Irish as *aintín* and *uncail*. In the countryside these classificatory terms are still felt to be slightly foreign, and, as is always the case even within the immediate family relationship, kinship terms are seldom used in address. There is no distinction made between parents' siblings upon seniority. The terms niece and nephew exist, but are used by farmers only in legal contexts. Descriptive terms, such as brother's son, take their place.

In the direct line of ascent, parents' parents are "grandfather" and "grandmother" in English, according to sex, without reference to the sex of the immediate parent of the speaker. In Irish, terms correspond exactly: *seanathair* or *athair críona*, *seanmháthair* or *máthair críona*. In the direct line of descent, however, only the English terms for children's children, grandson and granddaughter, are classificatory and neglect the intervening child. The Irish terms are completely descriptive, specifying the sex of the child whose children are the grandchildren in question. They

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561 When the whole population of a country district is on
571 the move on Sunday, the groupings are especially note-
794 worthy. There are occasional family groups driving in the jaunty car, but generally the older men walk in a group of their own, the older women in another. The young men walk together by themselves and the young women by themselves. On Sunday afternoons the young men can be seen at the nearest crossroad standing together in groups of ten to thirty, while the older men keep more to their houses or visit one another. Before mass, when the weather permits, the men congregate outside the church and do not move in until all the women have entered and the priest has arrived. As the groups stand outside waiting for the mass to begin and gossiping back and forth, the older men stand off together and the younger men keep to themselves. In wakes, weddings, christenings, the same age groupings are observed.

561 There is, of course, no formal prescription of such be-
571 havior nor formal taboo against its infringement; the conduct rather springs from the divisions of the family and the solidarity of the individuals occupying similar status as these forces operate in everyday life. It is evident how close a connection exists between age grading and marital status.

[561] If behavior of this type reflects the age grading within the family and the transitions between age grades which are part
342 of the transformation of the family at marriage, so does the arrangement of the house interior. For a graphic representation of this characteristic arrangement, let the reader return to Figure 9. The houses of the small farmers show a remark-
[565] able uniformity over great areas; it becomes at once apparent that the variations in house types and forms are more associable with differences of class than of locality. But as we are dealing only with the small farmer or peasant class, we need concern ourselves only with the implications of the striking uniformity in house form among the country people. Throughout West and North Clare the house is rectangular

[see p. 34. -Analyst]

audience. The point of importance here is that it is among the old people that folk myth and folk belief are preserved and expressed for the community.

If we are to examine in full rural behavior based upon age and its connection with the old adult clique whose function in the community we are assessing, we must offer some contrast with the behavior of other age groups.

We have already mentioned that the old men's house in Rynamona was not the only seat of visiting after the day's work, and that the entertainment provided there was merely one instance of many gatherings taking place almost nightly, at least through the winter, in rural communities. In the statements given by older men about the meeting of the young men we have seen something of the manner in which other pursuits than those of the men's house are regarded.

Indeed in all the communities which came under the authors' notice the young men were as ardent evening visitors as were the older men. In Rynamona they were no less so.

There they gathered in most often at the house of Roche, the "prosecutor." They did this from long habit, as did their elders. But they had no larger justification for their doing so. They went because "you never feel the time passing when you're in with the boys." But there were marked differences in their meeting. There was no central clique so closely integrated as that in O'Donoghue's house. There were pairs of lads, brothers, friends, and groups of three and four and five who habitually played cards or walked the roads together.

A greater difference lay in their complete lack of concern with the affairs of the community. One could get them to talk only about their own plans or the trials of their own kind and age. There was no debate, no reaching of decisions, no appeal to tradition. The skills upon which those taking part in the meetings prided themselves and for which

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571 517 they received their nicknames were of other sorts. Not even farming occupied a large share of their conversation, keen as their rivalry in the matter often was while work was going on.

571 517 524 Taking these matters in order, the young men who met at Roche's house met habitually there for card playing. Roche's unmarried son, a man about thirty, was perhaps the central figure. His cousin, another Roche, was the brother of a young man just married, who took part in no *cuaird*. This cousin helped work his brother's farm. He was another central figure. The group that formed itself round them included most of the young men of Rynamona between the ages of twenty and thirty. They played the usual games of the Irish countryside, "forty-five" and "nap," often far into the night.

571 517 525 Roche's house was the more informal center. It took in the younger men. But there was present in the community a custom somewhat more organized, namely, the "gamble." As often as once a week a gamble is held in or near Rynamona. Each household, as its turn comes, throws open its doors to the card players. Admission, usually a shilling, is charged and goes toward defraying the expense of the supper of bread and tea for all and toward the prize. What is left after those charges are met belongs to the householder. Often this amount reaches a profitable figure, and, where the custom is firmly entrenched, a certain commercialism shows its head.

But the gamble is a sporting event. Teams, often formed of habitual associates in card playing, are pitted against one another in one form of the gamble. In another, individual high scorers win. The prize is usually a turkey or two geese, even a bonham (young pig), a side of bacon, or a calf. Elab- [555] orate rules and canons of honesty govern the play, the conduct of the players, and the obligation of the person offering the prize. Play is serious and intense, and the win-

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ner of the prize can count himself a proud man, for to be 525
known in the countryside as a "great gambler" is a coveted 555
mark of shrewdness and skill.

The older men seldom attend the gambles. They are the 887
province of the young. For the latter, they are a crystalliza-
tion of the more informal card playing, such as that at
Roche's house, already described, and they give the suc- 554
cessful young men a prestige in the community ordinarily
denied them. For in late years tournaments have sprung
up covering whole sections of the county and it is a proud
team which can bring back a five or ten pound district
prize to its home community.

From the standpoint of an enumeration of those taking part in the gambles, too, the gambles show themselves to be such a crystallization. They bring into association on more definite occasions the groups, such as that at Roche's house, which meet habitually. They unite most of the young men, especially the more active among them, with a few of the older. But it is from the young men's world of habit that their union is created.

In Rynamona the young men who gathered nightly at Roche's house were the mainstays of the gambles. They could be counted upon to attend all of them. They played well and long, as they had learned the games among themselves. But they were not the only ones to come. Most of the slightly older men of what we shall call the intermediate *cuaird*, to be described later, such as John Quin, the newcomer to the old men's house already named, came from time to time, and there was always a sprinkling of young men, kinsfolk, and "friends" from near-by communities. It was only the members of the old men's house who stayed away. They alone had given up the habits of young men. To them the gamble was "codology."

Thus the first point of difference between the visiting 571
habits of the old men and the young men, their lack of cen- 517

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571 517 tral clique, is not without wider interest. The young men are more numerous, and they group themselves together as much as do the old. But it is upon a different basis. It is a synthesis in a looser, more widely inclusive, gathering which [573] unites smaller cliques of brothers, friends, and boon companions. The gamble is only one of many entertainments 571 they provide themselves. Equally frequently they hold a 517 dance. The country dance is undergoing change in rural 535 Ireland today, but it is still much as it was in the last century, although it may not enliven the country districts as often as it did. Irish square dances, jigs, and flings, most of them variations of sixteenth-century European dance forms, are most common, although some Gaelic-speaking districts preserve an older tradition.

621 The country dance belongs to the young people. It differs from the gamble, from the standpoint of participants, in 536 that it unites both sexes. In most communities it is an 517 affair in which the whole community takes part, the old people as onlookers, the young and the still spry among the older ones as performers. In late years the more formal "all night" dance, an organized dance for which admission is charged and from which the older people are usually absent, has made its appearance. Like the gamble it draws from a wider area.

517 But there is a good deal of the spontaneous dancing which springs up wherever the young people of the community 535 gather even today. The young men and women learn the skills required and value them. There are elaborate codes of etiquette round them and a wealth of proverbs and jocular superstitions. But here again, unlike the behavior followed in the old men's house, these conducts have little larger purpose than uniting the scattered cliques of young people. They are recreations. They are ends in themselves. They are good times that pass the time.

517 The gamble and the dance do not, of course, exhaust the 571 list. The young people have other activities, games, sports,

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contests, and playful roles of solemn occasions, such as acting as strawboys (mummers) at weddings. But all these activities, in which the old members of the community do not directly participate, are alike in their playing no great part in organizing other elements in the community than the young people themselves. They serve other functions.

All these activities bind the young men, the young people, together in common interests. They provide them with a scope of action in which they are comparatively free, yet which keeps them divorced from the seats of a power over community life which is denied them. In this sphere they may develop complex norms, valuations, and conducts.

But such developments do not serve primarily to knit the community as a whole the more firmly. They are associated with the lesser prestige of the young people. Consequently, the old men's house comes to have in contrast a double function. It unites the old men in much the same way as the gamble and the dance unite the young men, in fact even more strongly. But it does so in terms of the old men's common position as recipients of the respect of the community and in terms of their individual positions as integrators of their families. The difference is structural. The activities of young men unite them across family and clique lines even from one community to the next. But those of the old men do more; they unite young and old as well. The integration of the young men is a looser and less inclusive one, even though the numbers ephemerally joined in gamble and dance may be greater.

In such a system of integrations, that of the old men has the greater prestige. A great gambler or a great dancer wins wide respect. But the distinction is short-lived. It is a nine days' or a nine years' wonder. It bestows great prestige among one's fellows, but it removes one very little, if at all, from one's subordinate, less valued place as "boy" in the community.

Where such is the case, the individual's progression

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own sex than otherwise, except in the house itself. Except upon ceremonial occasions in family life or in the considerable affluence of owning a gig or a trap or a motorcar, in Clare at least they go to mass, to town, or to sportive gatherings with companions of their own sex. Till recently and even now in remote districts, a conventional peasant woman always kept several paces behind her man, even if they were walking somewhere together.

The women do not go out on *cuaird* like the men. Their sphere of interest and influence is better confined within the family circle. Women do not take part directly in the deliberations of such cliques as that described in the old men's house at Rynamona. On the other hand, they are not in the least excluded or treated lightly or in a derogatory fashion. At the old men's *cuaird* the woman of the house is nearly always present. Her being of the company does not seem to stem the flow of talk in the slightest. She remains silent or is ignored so long as their talk deals with the world of the men's interest. But when the talk swings around to her sphere, she is consulted and is ready to take an active part.

The girls, of course, the unmarried younger women and adolescents, keep to themselves and form cliques and smaller groups of neighbors and kinswomen among themselves. Occasionally a dance breaks the ordinary succession of work and evening talk in the kitchen. And then, in their more restricted place, they are ready to go about under the tutelage of parent or brother to meet the young men and boys of the community.

All this is nothing new and has been described before. Yet one must review it, because in it one can see the existence of statuses of the kind we have demonstrated before. Old woman, married young woman, and girl, each term is a status in the countryside, in the same manner as in the cases of the boys and men we have already presented. The

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Even in cases of illegitimacy, if the mother comes to marry another man than her child's father, a match may sometimes save the day. It serves the social purposes and repairs the damage, though it removes none of the stain upon one's local reputation. In spite of the strictness of country standards, many small farmers have married "poor, unfortunate girls" of this kind, without irreparable loss of respectability. Yet even then the attitude of the community fits the familistic norm. Such cases are felt to be very unusual and special departures from custom. They are matters for some surprise and congratulation.

The moral standards of the countryside involve a most strict control of the young people in sexual matters. Premarital virginity is the ideal. It is a double standard, of course. The young lads are not, or were not until recently, expected to be so pure as the girls.

The sexual urges of the older people are deemed adequately satisfied in marriage. Adultery very seldom seems to come into the reckoning of the small farmers. This is part of the equation of sexual appetite and familistic aspirations. The country people know something of town prostitutes and have heard of occasional marital lapses in the countryside as well. But these matters are not of great interest. The incidents, as far as one can judge, are of infrequent occurrence. Marital fidelity is not only the ideal; it seems to be the fact as well. It seems even to be taken for granted, and any other course felt inconceivable.

Thus we must look to the relations among the unmarried young couples to see the chief point of pressure in the rural system of values. That is the area in which there is nearly all the smoke and not a little fire.

Although premarital virginity and complete abstinence from any kind of sexual activity is the ideal for the young, local custom emphasizes marriage all the while. Local dances and other festivities are the chief times of meeting

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and play for the young men and women of the rural communities. The customs and conventions which surround them are constant reminders of marriage and its hopes and privileges.

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Yet as soon as any intimacy of acquaintanceship builds up between a particular pair, they are matched together in local gossip. They are forced to take a position which is only a single step from betrothal. But, as elsewhere, lovers separate to find others. Though a once or twice fickle or jilted girl is subjected to constant gossip, her luck seems not to doom her entirely if she is attractive or a good match.

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Such outings as the "patterns," [2] relics of saints' festivals, and race meetings in summer, and the dances in winter, are occasions of courtship, excitement, and philandering of sorts in the countryside. They are objects of censure on the part of those of the clergy, townsmen, and people of higher class who unite in condemning more obvious manifestations of peasant social life with little insight into a custom's function. The clergy, in particular, fulminate constantly against all-night dances. They object not so much to the jollities as to the opportunities for "walking out" among the young couples.

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The following quotations from country people describe the situation. In the first a countryman is talking about "crabbit lads" who are to blame for local sexual irregularities, and comes around at last to the local dances:

> They are awfully crabbit around here. If a girl has money or land and she will get it, the boys try any way at all to put her up the hill so they will marry her and get it. And the parents keep the girl away from the boys for fear it will happen. But it is no good to keep the girl in the house, because, if you do, she knows nothing. Let her knock away and she soon learns how to take care of herself. If you don't, there are ways the crabbit lads will get to her.

[2] The local name of country festivals once religious, somewhat like the *pardons* of Brittany.

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That was the way with the girl who married Willie Meaney[3] and he thought to get the money, but the parents said let her go. Now they are in Ennis and she never got anything. The same way with the two who married the Shaughnessy girls. They thought they would get something but they didn't get a thing. Would you believe that? America is not the only place where things like that happen. The people have crosses to bear. Every year we have a talk from the priest about the dances. He says the dances are all right but it is the going home that is bad. There is always a laugh when he says that. Then some of the parents get worried and they won't let their daughters go to a dance for a month or so, and they forget about it after that.

The status of boy and girl involves a "repression" of sexual impulse, virginity, and chastity of thought and expression, but custom and the attitudes of the older people provide a constant stimulation of sexual interest in the direction of the familistic system. The status of boy and girl thus involves a definite kind of sexual organization, based directly upon social relationships.

Nowhere is this better to be seen than in the case of the young woman's "character." Here the Church fathers and the country people seem to have attained quite a unanimity. Sexual orientation is inseparable from social role. Sexual repute and status are identical. The authors do not say this identification is unique. They do not know its historical origins. But they do wish to point out its function in this setting: The young woman's "character" is her full status as a social being because the familistic system is such that sexual activity, no less than economic, is completely integrated with one's role in social life. Consequently her sexual conduct is no concern of hers alone.

In the relationships in family and community in which the young girls of the countryside find their roles, any departure from the norm of conduct on their part is cause for

[3] Names of persons and smaller places in this and subsequent quotations are, of course, fictitious and refer to no actual persons or places of such names.

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wife got her reward in presents, gifts, and whiskey, but not in money. Money, however, would be proferred to the nurse.

That the factor of payment in money should be crucial is really the cloak of the set of dispositions arising from habitual relations. In the local community the handy man is not paid, since, like "friends" and neighbors, he is one of themselves. Since he is one of the countrymen, he is caught within the system of much the same habitual relations of reciprocal service and mutual aid which make up cooring in agriculture.

To see this point, we must describe the action of the local community in respect to the work to be done once again. Cooring is a form of reciprocal exchange of goods and services. One old fellow described it aptly when he said that it meant that for a day of work given you would receive a day in return. We have already seen its connection with familism and the extended family. But besides cooring, there was another form of the custom known as *meitheal* (mihil). The word *comhair* (coor) referred to the reciprocity, the word *meitheal* to the band of men and teams acting together to perform a task. On various occasions when work beyond the capacity of cooring families was to be done, a *meitheal* of men or women or horses could be made up.

As described by the old people who still remember its heyday, the *meitheal* rested on a foundation slightly different from the reciprocity of cooring. The work was done by a gang of local persons got up for the purpose through the wish and custom of the local inhabitants, but without expectancy of individual return in like measure.

Bands of men and women were got up in rural communities by *meitheal* for the following purposes, of which the authors heard record:

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1. Mowing and harvesting for priest and school teacher.
2. Mowing and harvesting for an old couple without children who could not do it themselves.
3. Hauling and moving where many horses were needed, as a *meitheal* of horses, for bringing sand or seaweed manure from the coast, or moving and re-settling a family.
4. Rebuilding a house and re-settling an evicted family.
5. Collecting a *meitheal* of girls with their spinning wheels from all the community's houses to spin after shearing.
6. Collecting a *meitheal* of men and girls for various processes connected with the conversion of flax to linen.

There were probably many other more extraordinary kinds of coöperative action. But the above list exhausts those which are remembered by the local communities the authors knew in Clare and which are unconnected with the more directly reciprocal and familistic pattern of cooring. The difference between *meitheal* and *comhair* was not a contrast, however, by any means. The term *meitheal*, applied strictly, referred to the band of persons and their tools got together. Yet there was a certain unanimity in the country people's feeling that the word *meitheal* should be reserved specifically for occasions of the local community's communal action. In *meitheal* work no individual or family expected a like return.

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Community action in concert, in which bands of workers are got up for specific purposes, is nowadays very different. Most of the characteristic actions of *meitheal* remembered by the old people are no longer carried out. Just as in the case of cooring, the need of the small farmer for his fellows is no longer so great. Monetary hire is spreading into the country communities. Yet even today the schoolteacher and the priest are donated services at hay harvesting occasionally, though nowadays schoolteacher and priest rely no longer upon bits of land and garden for support but upon fixed monetary salaries from state or church. Such aid is of little importance in their economies. Likewise, old-age

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pensions and other benefits have removed the necessity of action by *meitheal* for the support of the aged and childless. General prosperity and the spread of machinery and tools have made it unnecessary for such concerted action in other cases, and local self-sufficiency is no longer so complete.

Nevertheless, the foundation of mutual relations between members of the local community upon which *meitheal* was based still exists. It can be called into play in emergency or under special circumstance still. Not all the townsman's accusation that the spirit of self-help and self-sufficiency has gone out of the country people is true by any means. They still will buckle to a community task, if necessity forces action, quite willingly. But they have learned that they have a voice nowadays in the kind of activity to which public funds and public works shall be put. This awareness is part of the extension inward into the community of the lines of relationship with persons and institutions external to the farm community which is so characteristic of the age. Such relationships are now made use of where before there were none of them beyond appeal to a landlord.

Some description of the former kind of activity might be of interest here, though it is in the nature of a digression. The techniques of the last century, particularly those of wool and flax, were different from those of today; yet the situation is in other respects quite like that of today as far as the organization of persons in the community is concerned. The age groups of old and young, the sex division of activity between men and women, and the reciprocities between family groups and the direction of the community in the hands of the old men were even more marked than they are today. But nothing fundamental has changed except the techniques.

The following is an account of the older custom in weaving:

476 A man would go to town and buy two or more pottles of flax
● 571 to sow. Then on the first of May he would go to the garden
and plant it. In August he would pull it up by the roots and
248 lay it in small bundles to be made into stooks. Then they would
take it and put it into a bog and leave it there fifteen or twenty
days, after which they could dry it in the house by hanging it
from the rafters. About the first of November you would take
it down and some men would come in and help break it. They
would then put it back and later take it down and scutch it with
a pronged tool, drawing the flax over it and breaking it.

476 Some time about Christmas time you would have a *meitheal*
571 of girls come in and they would sit in a semicircle round the
fire and clove the flax. It would take several days depending
283 on how much you had. The girls would stay with you all that
time. At seven in the evening they would be through and
within half an hour you could hear them in the hills leaping
and shouting. About eight or eight-thirty the boys would begin
[535] to arrive and there would be a dance and be no more good out
of them for that night. They might have a dance every two or
three days. You fed them good.

The next thing was the hackling, and this might be done by men or women. You had a box with iron prongs sticking up and you would hit the stalk against the irons and the small particles would fall into the box below. It might take several nights. Old man Roughan was a great man at the hackling, but he was always great for nothing else to do with flax. It was fine if you got him to come and help you and he would be glad to do it. Then you might be good at something else and you would go and help him with that. Some men were good at one thing and others at something else and they would help each other.

After this the next thing was the spinning, and this was done by the woman. She would sit in this corner by the fire and she might be there every night, or whenever she had the time, spinning the flax fiber into thread. She had no one to help her and it was a hard job. After it was made into thread, it would be taken out and bleached and re-wound and then taken to the
[286] weaver. The weaver made it into cloth and you would use it for sheets and shirts and other things. Flax was a hard thing and there was a lot of hard work about it.

248 They have been out of growing it for thirty or forty years

and now they would never think of growing it but must be running to town and buying what they want.

The process of conversion of wool to yarn and thence into cloth was equally difficult. It demanded the concerted efforts of most of the rural community. It gave scope for the development of specialists who could give their skills back and forth even though, as before, their skills were part of the equipment of all the young people in the community. Two other old fellows of Inagh combined in the following account:

> With the wool it was sheared on May 15 and, if that fell on a Monday or Tuesday and the following was Saturday in town (market day) you would see the men there with wool to sell while others would be there to buy it with large baskets in which to put it. The first thing was to card the wool. About the first of June you would get ready to spin it. For that you go around to all the neighbors and ask for a loan of a girl to spin the wool, and if you got eight or ten you must get the loan of that many spinning wheels. Then they come to the house on a certain day and I have seen eight wheels in this room and two in the other, all the girls spinning and talking away. It might take several days before they were through and they would have a dance and the boys would come around. You want to be sure to get the girls early for there is a great demand for them. After the yarn is spun, it is placed on the wall to be taken to the weaver later on.

All this was part of the pattern of work in which the members of the community were accustomed to work in close association. The behavior described here is that which we have already looked at in the discussion of the obligations of cooring. The *meitheal* referred to the working gang rather than the system in which the local habits were set. That setting was a constant play of habitual work relations between the "friends" and neighbors of the local community in which the characteristic organization of the community aligned sex and age groups and associated the

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skills of individual experience and prowess with one's place in such groups.

In dealing with local techniques and local specializations, it is impossible to divorce them from this social setting. The attitudes of the country people support this view. Their emotional outlook on work gives added proof of the identity between work role and the social relations it involves. Solitary work is difficult and tedious. It offers little incentive. Communal effort on the other hand has a pleasant and variegated rhythm which works up an emotional satisfaction which can counteract fatigue and monotony.

Consequently, concerted effort and hard work are not often divorced in the minds of the country people, to judge from what they say of it, from their experience of the *esprit de corps* which they feel. The old people as usual deny any value to present-day activity. The young think the doings of an older day the behavior of savages. We have already seen how the attitudes which express one's age status color one's view of life in the countryside. That is the case again here. If the old people deny the existence of community effort today, it is because they think of the zest of working in unison in youth long ago and remember the times when emotion was highest and the solidarity of communal effort greatest. And the young people forget this. Listening to the accounts of such mighty effort, they think only of the hardship and the ignorance of labor-saving short-cuts it entailed. Similarly the old people forget or fail to see that the young people go through the same experience as they once did.

Thus one can hear such a description of communal effort and the joys of work in common as follows from the old people and at the same time one can still watch a harvest where coöperative action and competition in skills is just as great. And we can know that the essential patterns are the same, though the techniques may change:

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And at the time of the saving of the hay and up to the War didn't it used to be that a man's place was done in turn and there would be fifteen or twenty men working at a time on the one place. There would be one man make the hayrick and there were no round ricks in it then, they were all long. There would be another who would rack it and two above on the rick putting hay into it. The other men and women would be in the fields bringing the hay in on their backs, and the children would be there too. Each would do as much as he could. Then the man whose field it was would have half a barrel of porter and the men would all drink. At noon and in the evening the neighboring women would come in and spread a great feed with jam and sweet breads and other things out of the ordinary, and in the evening there would be a tea for all of them in the fields.

Then at the cutting of the turf the man might have porter, though the hay saving was a bigger time than the turf cutting. There would be several working together at the cutting of the turf, some cutting and others laying it out, and they would be given a feed and some drink for it. There was a man who agreed to cut turf for a widow woman who had several small children. After he arrived, he was sorry he came, for there was no one to lay out the turf for him. But the widow and children were there and worked all day and never a sod did he get ahead of them. As soon as he had one cut, there was a child there to carry it away.

The people also helped each other with the ploughing and the planting of the garden, several men working to help and be called. There was one woman who would help one neighbor today and another the next and so on. It would kill you if you had to do it alone but you never feel the work when there are several of you all working.

There is none of that today. Everyone is begrudging the other if he manages to get along tolerably well and each man does his own. Then the women used to work together. They had what they called a *meitheal*. On an appointed evening all the girls would gather at the house and work on the flax, scutching it, and they might be there for several days or a week working and living in the same house until all the work was done. Then they might go to another house and stay there. We had a great fortnight long ago at the Murphys here. The young men

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476 would be waiting outside to whisk them away or to have a dance.
571 Then when they ground the oats, they had a quern and the men and women would come together and each take a turn at grinding so it was not tiring and they would have a big supper of spuds and milk for all of them before they would go. Then they would get together for the carding and spinning before the thread was taken to the weaver. The young women might be carding and the old women spinning and the *meitheal* of [535] girls would work away. They would get a dance when they would be done.

All the above description of close concert and deeply imprinted habitual work relations among the members of the local communities in the framework of the organization of behaviors of age and sex depict the now dead past. The same activities today, though certain techniques are different, bring out the same picture of work relations in an emotionally charged unison among persons of similar status within the community. The present-day hay harvest is very little different, though mowing machines are used. The great hayrick is still built in the same setting, and still calls for celebration. Everyone still waits for a signal from the hayrick rigger, a personage of considerable importance on such a day.

476 The unison of working on oats harvest with flails is gone.
571 But in its place is a threshing machine, and its owners come around and a local crew is got up out of the local men. The
463 same jollities still reign. In all this our chief interest is not
554 in changing custom. Rather it is from this kind of observation that a new conclusion arises. The factors of differentiation about skills and techniques in the rural communities give rise to statuses of the same kind as before, statuses based upon the development of a specialty by a member of the local community which is recognized and valued within the habitual activities of his fellows. Here is an opportunity to see the embryonic form of division of labor and development of occupations in terms of the life of a community. It is a continuous process.

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The formally recognized artisans of the country districts represent a sort of halfway stage in this process. The blacksmith is the most important of them, through historical associations and because his skill suffers so little loss of demand. Others, such as the weaver and tailor, are in process of disappearance; others perhaps in process of emergence. It is the incorporation they experience into the habitual relations of the group that determines their presence or absence and determines whether or not their skill shall develop or be lost.

Take, for instance, the few cases of persons who return to their native communities in the countryside from abroad. They find adjustment extremely difficult. The "returned Yank," if he has been long away, is declassed and to an extent deracinated. This is true of all his behavior, through all his relations with those from whom he went. The process of reabsorbing him is slow and painful. None of this shows itself better than in his inability to fit himself in again technically and occupationally. If he takes a farm, he is better off because he is independent. But otherwise he must learn a different kind of organization of work relations, a different tempo, and he must wait upon the slow development of the relations with his fellows which alone can give him full occupational status among them. This is the reason why innovations of all kinds seem to be infinitely slow in conservative rural life. Ardent agricultural reformers all too often fail to recognize this enforced tempo of habitual working relations in agriculture and suffer disillusionment accordingly. In fact, it is the rock on which most well-meaning reforms or innovations break. Change and innovation do come about, surprisingly quickly from one point of view. But they proceed through social relations; they do not overthrow them. They come about through a new habit's achieving a compatibility with old ones.

In the Irish countryside the organization of the community upon an occupational basis can be understood not

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463 in terms of such considerations as income, wealth, or skill,
571 or any such factors, but in terms of the place and function of the persons specializing among their fellows. It can be understood in terms of social relations and the organization of habit. Status based upon technical differentiation is built up out of personal relations in the work experience of the community members.

476 If then we take inventory of the kinds of goods and ob-
571 jects which make up the *matériel* of peasant life, and draw
621 up such an inventory to illustrate for us the connection between social relations and these goods and objects, we can construct a series of charts which connect community life and the exchanges and uses of goods, services, and objects in one comprehensive view.

In such a chart those goods and services which come to the farmer from those within his own community come to him in connection with traditional social relations uniting fellow community members. They are the ones transferred under the pattern of cooring: through "friendliness" and non-monetary reciprocal obligation.

Those goods and services which come to the farmer and his family from without the community come to him in connection with more recently developed non-traditional relations uniting him to persons outside the community. They fall into quite different patterns of activity. Likewise any person whose occupation makes him both a member of the local community and part of the outside world, by virtue of his relations extending beyond, is also in a position of oscillation between the first and the second relationships.

For there is a continual attempt to extend the pattern of cooring, as with all local familistic and communal obligation and sentiment, outward on the part of the farmers, and a continual extension inward on the part of outsiders of other patterns of relationship. Much of the enduring pattern of town and country relationship evolved in Irish

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society hinges on this point. Much of political life is explained here. Gifts and personal favors, fashioned on the pattern of the extended family and local community, besiege (or used to besiege) magistrates and government officials. Before land reform they besieged such links with the outer world as the older estate system provided, such as the bog warden, the land steward, and the other functionaries of landlords. Yet against this pattern's sway there runs a continual incursion of other patterns which the institutions extending their sway from town life and higher social classes downward provide. In this meeting and conflict of social patterns much is to be learned of the structure of Irish social classes and of the continuing course of Irish social life.

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The matter is of interest here only as a summary of the life of the rural community itself. It occupies us only in so far as it points to a conclusion about the kinds of relationship which build up within the local community between the farmers and those of their fellows who are not farmers. There is always a primary distinction among them. There are those who have, quantitatively speaking, most of their activities taken up in relations within the local community alone, and there are those who are divided between the local community and the outside world and who make a bridge between. The former fall in one way or another into the pattern of cooring. They are a "cut below" the farmer, yet his intimates. They are the ones in relation to whom the farmer is the dominant party, since it is the farmer who commissions, hires, or otherwise sets off the other's activity, expert as it may be. The secret of the equivalence of the status of these persons with that of the landless boys lies in these facts. For the boys are in exactly the same case.

The others, however, who are in one way or another part of the outside world, are alike if only in that. Various as they are, they are never in the same case as the local handy

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men and the boys. For them the patterns of dominance by the farmer, of recipiency of gifts and cooring favors, of articulation with the peasant cliques in the local community, are never complete, because of their conflict with other, external ties. The crossroad shopkeeper, the policeman, the schoolteacher, the priest, the big farmer, even the local man who becomes a county councillor by election, are always a "cut above" the farmers. They come to form a group apart. They take over near-urban standards first. Some of them, of course, priest, schoolteacher, and policeman, are often residents for only a short term. They have come to the country district they serve as strangers and outsiders, if only from the next parish. But a certain aloofness and a certain difference clings to these men even if they are natives by ancestral descent. Contact with the outer world brings in the outer world's ways and sets them apart and a little above.

Only the wanderers, the tinkers, the itinerant beggars, hawkers, and "dealing" men and women, many of them uprooted urban laborers, whose ties are with the towns and whose visits in country districts are short and predatory, fall outside this pattern. They are a special case. They are also many a "cut below" the farmers. They are an outcast lowest class.

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TABLE 7

Relations of Farmers and Non-Farmers in Three Rural Communities in County Clare

The table which follows is a chart of relationships between farmers and non-farmers in the rural communities of Clare. It lists those of different skill or habit with whom the farmers have relations. Those who fall under the pattern of reciprocities, gifts, and cooring, and the goods and services they provide the farmer, appear in one list. Those who fall under other patterns, who do not figure in the obligations of cooring, are listed in another. At the right of each item in each list is a word or phrase characterizing the initiation of the actions taking place between the farmer and the non-farmer in the course of the provision of the goods or services described.

Read another way, the lists arrange in two groups all the local specialists with whom we have been dealing. They show us that the differences are to be found in social relations, not in goods or services rendered or any other factor. All the specialists of whom the authors got information in the country districts are here. The first list describes the specialists whose relations to the farmers are "internal" to the community. The second list describes those persons who connect the farmers with the outside world and are thus "external." List I gives those who enjoy superior prestige and local standing, whose contacts with the community proceed through the heads of families, the adult men, and who are capable of initiating action among them. In that limited sense only, they are dominant over the farmers and make a higher class. List II gives those who share inferior prestige and local standing, who form cliques with the "boys," and who are not ordinarily capable of initiating action among the adult members of the community except in a course of communal action employing their special skill. These are a lower class in the country districts by such definition.

This configuration of factors reveals the lines of relationship within the community and those extending outward from it.

The reader may judge for himself how close the connection is between the familistic system of farm life and the structure of the rural community.

List I

Extra-Familial Relations within the Local Communities, Internal

Occupation or Technical Status	Goods or Service Provided Farm Family	Character of the Relations [1]	Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services [2]
Weavers	Homespuns, shawls, cloths, blankets		
Tailors	Clothing		
Carpenters	Furniture, houses, buildings		

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, in each case this consists of gifts and cooring.
[2] Unless otherwise indicated, in each case the farmer commissions the labor.

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TABLE 7 (*continued*)

Occupation or Technical Status	Goods or Service Provided Farm Family	Character of the Relations	Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services
Smiths	Farm implements, horseshoes, tools, repairs	Gifts, annual payment, and cooring	
Shoemakers	Boots, shoes		
Thatchers	House thatching		
Hayrick experts	Hayrick building		
Masons	House building, sheds, walls		
Wall builders	Walls		
Whitewashers	Limewashing of houses, sheds		
Water diviners and well diggers	Finding and building of wells		
Threshing-machine operators, owners	Threshing	Payment, gifts and cooring	Farmer commissions labor and machine and pays hire
Midwives	Attendance at childbirth		
Bonesetters	Broken bones		
Local "vets"	Treatment of sick animals		
Local "doctors," wise men or women	Treatment of sick; magic		
Domestic servants	Household aid	Wages only for outsiders not kin	Farmer hires and pays hire, otherwise kinship relations hold
Agricultural laborers, employees of big farmers	Occasional aid in agriculture		Either party requests aid
Gravekeepers	Records of grave locations, tending of graves	Wages by priest, gifts and cooring from farmers	Unobserved
Slate quarrymen	Building and roofing slates	Unobserved	Unobserved
Sextons	Tending of churches	Wages by priest	Unobserved
Limekiln and lime burners	Fertilizer	Gifts and cooring from local men, payment for outsiders	Unobserved

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Occupation or Technical Status	Goods or Service Provided Farm Family	Character of the Relations	Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services
List II			
Extra-Familial Relations with Local Persons Extending Outside the Local Communities, External			
		Special Cases, Occasional Relationship	
Tinkers	Asses, pots, pans, repairs	Occasional trade at the door	Tinker makes rounds
Dealers, hawkers, feathermongers	Odds and ends, small trade articles. Feather mongers buy feathers from farmers	Occasional trade at the door	Dealer makes rounds
		Habitual Relationships	
Crossroad shopkeeper	Supplies liquors, foodstuffs, tobacco, sundries not bought in town. (Most trading of staples done in towns, however.) Collects eggs and butter for sale to produce dealers	Farmer an habitual client, purchasing on long-term credit. Relationship overlaid with obligations of "friendliness," involving reciprocal gifts and occasional advances. Barter significant only in the shopkeepers' acting as depot for eggs and butter sales	Relationship habitual over long term (see other columns)
Civic guards, (police) officials and uniformed men (*Gardaí Siochána*)	Local protection of person and property, apprehension and prosecution of misdemeanor and felony. Informally, police settle disputes, report grievances, give amateur legal advice, and gather census data for governmental departments	By law, civic guards must be neither members of the communities in which they are stationed nor related in it by marriage. They are instructed to maintain close rapport and very friendly relations with local people, and seem to succeed. They go in for much sport with the local young men and boys. They are attached to local barracks but, if they are married, maintain homes in the local community	Assigned to stations on departmental orders

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TABLE 7 (*continued*)

Occupation or Technical Status	Goods or Service Provided Farm Family	Character of the Relations	Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services
Agricultural instructors, horticultural instructors, poultry instructresses, etc. Permanent officials, employees of local authority, county councils, and members of government departments	Instruction and demonstration through experimental plots, prize contests and schemes, assignment of grants, evening lectures, etc.	Agricultural instructors of all kinds make home visits and hold classes locally but have large districts and are often townsmen. Informal contact with farmers slight	Instructor either pays a visit of inquiry or is called upon by the farmer for his advice and aid; farmers make inquiries at central offices
Land commission officials and staff	Division and regulation of land holdings provided by land law in breaking up former large estates, often affording occasional employment for young men	Usually entirely official and administrative; very little informal contact; tempered, however, by indirect political influence originating among farmers	Land commission proceeds officially to estate division; farmers petition for increase of holdings at local offices
Commission of Public Works officials and staff	Provision of public works and relief works in connection with drainage, conservation, government projects, supplying occasional local employment for young men	Usually entirely official and administrative; very little informal contact; tempered, however, by indirect political influence originating among farmers	Public works commission proceeds officially to put a project into effect
Local government authority, County Council, officials and staff:			
a. Rate collectors	Collection of rates, taxes, land annuities	Make collections in person, most frequently at farmer's house, though also by post. Usually owe jobs to local influence and are most often of the farming class, but collections are large and contacts not wide	Rate collection proceeds under orders of administrative staff of County Council

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Occupation or Technical Status	Goods or Service Provided Farm Family	Character of the Relations	Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services
b. Road engineers, foremen, overseers and staff	Maintenance of roads through direct labor or through contracts with the farmers for supply of local quarry stone or paving materials. Relief work and road building an important source of employment of young men	Permanent officials employees of the local authorities, the County Council; foremen, overseers, and "gangers" often chosen from the farming community; much local influence exerted through county councillors	Road work proceeds under orders of administrative staff of County Council
c. County councillors	Local political representatives on local authority. In practice present local needs, wishes, and grievances, smooth the local administration of governmental bodies, and carry out the official duties of the County Council, not delegated to permanent staff	Elected by voters of rural electoral districts through universal suffrage of all citizens over thirty years of age (1933) in periodic local government elections. Have very often been crossroad shopkeepers or influential local big farmers; nowadays, however, are often small farmers as well. Depend for election upon canvassing, personal contacts, and attention to constitutents' business, though political party endorsement is not unimportant	
d. County Board of Health, officials and staff, local dispensary doctors, nurses, and home assistance (relief) officers	Investigation and report of cases in need of assistance, relief, etc., and provision of same	Employees or appointees of local authority; usually townsmen, and not members of the local community. Their duties, however, demand that they maintain friendly contact and acquire considerable local information	Farmers petition Board of Health or County Council or apply at dispensaries

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TABLE 7 (*continued*)

Occupation or Technical Status	Goods or Service Provided Farm Family	Character of the Relations	Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services
Big farmer	Occasional employment of local young men; occasional aid to small farmers and local purchase of corn, vegetables, animals, produce	Of a higher class and wider contacts than the small farmers; most often a townsman by culture and even by residence. In the countryside, close informal contacts with others of his kind over a wide area; interest in fashionable recreation and sport. Contacts with small farmers often friendly but usually few, except where big farmer is active politically	
Cattle and produce dealers	Purchase of produce and livestock, providing chief monetary income of small farmers	When not townsmen, whom the farmer meets only at periodic fairs and markets, these men are usually big farmers. Buy "from the land" (that is, from individual farmers not gathered at the local fairs and markets) very rarely; butter and egg dealers nearly always buy through crossroads shopkeepers	

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Occupation or Technical Status	Goods or Service Provided Farm Family	Character of the Relations	Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services
Parish priest and curate and other clergy	Religious leadership and moral control. Regulation of personal conduct and family behavior. Settlement of conflicts and disputes. Recommendation of "characters" before the outside world. Regulation of formal beliefs and attitudes, supervision of education in the interests of the accepted *mores*. Priest supplies ceremonial and cultural leadership and takes an active part in nearly all recreational and cultural activity, along with the schoolteacher, in country parishes. Only at times of high ceremony or special devotion, as at marriages, or in pilgrimages and retreats, does the small farmer make use of town churches, though he and his wife often contribute to them	In country districts today formal religious relationship seems to be superseding older paternalistic dominance of parish priest. Little informal contact except in the case of young curates in local sport. But the priest still commands greatest respect and reverence and, in many cases, the love of his parishioners. He is still the local court of appeal and the arbiter of local custom. He is consulted a great deal by both men and women. His parishioners are jealous lest he overstep his sphere of authority, particularly in politics, yet they concur in granting him obedience in everything else. Nevertheless the older magical power he possessed once is gone. Today he is often superior to the small farmers in wealth and education, and is not one of them. His more usual associates are other clergy, big farmers, and townsmen	

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438 462 484 drawn upon by centers of distribution of women's produce are always much less in extent than those of men.

It is not enough to point out that the distance to be traveled and the size of the area which a center serves are in 438 direct proportion to the monetary value of the goods con- 484 cerned. This is the case. It is an old story among economists. 571 But like all generalities it does not fail to have many exceptions. The point of interest is not the monetary but the sociological aspect of the matter.

Areas of distributive service coincide roughly with areas of personal contact and habitual travel. They coincide also with areas of effective social relationship. Thus there is a direct correlation between the area over which a peasant moves and has social relations and the value of the product he raises, as the economist would point out. But the source of this correlation is not to be found in economic considerations alone. The economic matters are themselves the outcome of the patterning of activities between persons. They show us the interdependence of the internal organization of the peasant community and the relationships making that community's articulation with the outside world.

Nothing in the world prevents any small farmer from going to Dublin markets to sell his cattle, not even the price of the ticket, for he has that. But he goes only so rarely as to make the fact negligible. On the other hand, the big farmer, the cattleman, in County Clare habitually goes farther, buying and selling far beyond the confines of the local market areas, purchasing his household and family goods in the great urban centers, patronizing even a Dublin tailor sometimes. The difference in travel is a part once again of the difference by class and economy between large farmer and small. The small farmer's community is made up of the persons related to him who are also small farmers and the persons who connect these men with the outside world. This we saw in the discussion of occupations. The

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market areas are the areas of effective, habitual relationship among farmers. They are definable only in terms of social relations made up of the acts of specific local persons. Such relations differ in duration and the frequency of the events making them up. Change such relations and geography is changed. For a human setting geography is merely the locus of relationship. The system of distribution that orders space in rural Ireland functions to do so within a system of social relations, which we have called familism.

It is not surprising that the relationships existing between the small farmers and their local distributing agencies go farther by far than economic acts of barter, purchase, and sale. The country crossroad shopkeepers, especially, win very special status in rural communities out of these relationships. In Ireland and in Clare shopkeeping is predominantly an urban and small-town trade. Yet shops are numerous and important in the country districts, and a word must be said of them.

In typical western rural communities the smallest and poorest of the crossroad shops, serving the minutest areas, are ordinary cottages or farmhouses. The slightest alteration has sufficed to turn one of the rooms into an emporium where makeshift till, counter, and shelves carry little more than tobacco, matches, oil, and a few sweets and small sundries.

Such a shop is usually run by a woman, who subsists upon it and a plot of land or garden. She is often a widow, or the wife of a local tradesman. In many cases the little shop is the local post office as well, and a salary from the state contributes to the owner's upkeep. Such a shop is sometimes, too, a local gathering place for the boys, in the way the local smithy once was such a gathering place. The boys get their fags here. It is encumbent upon the woman who keeps the shop to make them presents at Christmas time, in recognition of their custom. Everyone agrees that the woman

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444 subsists only because she is a part of the local community. Though she charges a bit more, she spares one the longer walk to the village center.

Country shops are often larger than hers. Sometimes where the distance to the village center is greater, they sell nearly everything one could get in town, outside the specialized drapers' or hardware boot, and shoe shops. They sell all the farm staples, such as groceries, sugar, flour, tea, and tobacco. Here people may come from two or three miles around. The farmers all know they pay more, but the shop is a convenience. It may get the only newspaper in the district, and men drop in to hear the news. In the evenings a local school of cards may flourish here and the boys foregather.

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The country shop reaches its zenith at the crossroad, where a church, a parochial house, a school, and a creamery may stand as well. Here the shop often dates from the days just after the famine and has had a long history of prosperity. In the past generation many such crossroads produced county councillors, and the rewards of public service often meant the acquisition of several rich farms in addition to the shop. The shop serves the surrounding countryside and collects its produce, and it derives its reward from the service it performs.

441 565 571 The position of the country shopkeeper is to be found in his place within the system of relations which make up the community of small farmers behind his shop. His function as economic agent of distribution is only part of his role. He is in a situation which must be described as a perpetual seesaw. If he is drawn too far within the local community, he loses contact with the outside world. If he is drawn too far outward, he loses touch with his customers. He must maintain a balance in a delicate equilibrium.

He is caught within a pattern of mutual obligations to the farmers on the one hand and the social system of the

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town classes on the other. Let it suffice to show his place that in a recitation of such a shopkeeper's intimates and associates it is most often not the farmers but the members of the community who are in a similar position who figure. His associates are the parish priest, the schoolmaster, the local police, and the local "rancher." When marriages are made for his daughters, they are made with big farmers, and husbands are got at considerably greater distances than in the case of the small farmers. Along with his associates, he makes up the rural middle class, at once a halfway point and a channel of movement for the infiltration of gradual change, poised between the small farmers of the countryside and the middle and upper classes of the urban centers.

Other agencies of exchange and contact between rural communities and the outside world are as much overlaid with social sentiment and custom expressive of valuations upon local status as is the position of the crossroad shopkeeper. The form of exchange is ceremonial, and a ritual exists to express much more than the mere mechanism of contact and exchange.

The two chief occasions of economic exchange outside the shops at the crossroad or in the towns are the best examples of such ceremonial. Let us take the fairs first. The fairs are still the most important mechanism of exchange between the small farm producers and the middlemen who start farm produce upon its journey to the ultimate consumer. Nothing has risen to threaten them seriously even in this day of economic complexity. The farmers of the rural hinterland of towns and villages journey with cattle, pigs, corn, and wool to market, to sell them that day or else to carry them home again. Some big farmers sell from the land direct to dealers and jobbers. A few small farmers sell direct to neighbors. These are exceptions, and sales in market and fair are well-nigh universal.

The fairs are not only universal, they are also elaborately

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561 come forward only when called upon. At country 'stations' the elder men and women file in for confession and come forward for communion first. On the road to shop, church or fair, the young man must keep pace, and the elder may call him to his side.

521 561 The relation shows itself best perhaps in the constant discussions that are the breath of life for the countryman. No work is too pressing to prevent the countryman from 'stopping on the road to pass the time of day'. In the rural community such personal communion is an indispensable bridge across the social and physical space separating farm from farm. In all such discussion it is the elder men who may regulate length and subject of conversation. When groups form, in pubs, in one another's houses on evening visits, before and after mass in the churchyard, the enthralling game of presenting argument, choosing sides, directing the flow of talk, belongs to the older men. The young men must 'listen in'.

[203] At such times the important news of the countryside disseminates itself. Political judgments are formed, and the ephemeral decisions of daily life are made. In all this the 'boys' are silent listeners. It is a bold young man who enters an opinion of his own.

561 ● 571 Then, secondly, there is the matter of the contacts of the community with the outside world. The elder men, these same father-owners, represent

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the interests of the community, before priest, schoolmaster, merchant, cattleman and government official. The younger men hang back, ready to be brought in when the elders want them, listening in and keeping their own counsel.

The relation extends in fact to very small matters indeed. The better cup of tea, the bigger piece of bread, the two eggs instead of one, the pipeful of tobacco, go to the older men. This last, tobacco, is no small matter where even now tobacco is still expensive enough to require careful husbanding. It is a custom in the country districts to pass the pipe round among one's intimates and guests, for testing, for praise, and to the accompaniment of formulae still often magical in nature. But the pipe does not go to the young man; he must content himself with an occasional 'fag'. When there is little, the young man can go without.

For illustration there is the anecdote that one Clare farmer tells: "During the time when tobacco was scarce [the war], an old man came into Sullivan's [shop] and asked for a half-quarter [cut of tobacco]. The Missus told him to go [get it] where he always bought it. He was very cast down. After he was out the door I said to her—she should give him some tobacco because a man who is used to it all his life would miss it greatly if he can't get it. Let the young bucks go, says I, they don't want it. But an old fellow wants it badly. She looked at me and says, Frank, are you serious? I am, faith, says

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'weight'. He showed in his serious manner a little disdain for frivolous pursuits.

In the old men's house, however, he looked a different figure. He was often silent, or contented himself with answering questions. When he did speak, it was to 'act the playboy', in the country phrase. It seemed to be a periodic fluctuation with him. One evening he would be silent, and the next he would be more than ready to joke, to render a song, to break into playful banter. Sometimes his efforts were successful, sometimes they were not.

But Quinn's playboy role did not last long. A year later he was an *habitué* of the old men's *cuaird*; he had given up all other visits. He had moved in. O'Donoghue, 'the judge', passed judgment one evening which affirmed his new place. "He's a bit of a playboy", he said, "but he has a good head on him."

These seven men make up the old men's *cuaird*. One can see how closely knit a clique they are. They have code and values of their own, strong enough to enforce specific personalities on each of the members, in accordance with the role of each in the group.

But there is an external side to this clique as well. To appraise the *raison d'être* of such a group in Rynamona, one must know its place in the community. These seven men, for instance, are not the only old men in Rynamona. Roche the 'public prosecutor' has a brother, with a good farm,

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571 573 across the line between Rynamona and the next townland, Carhunamadra. But the elder Roche is seventy-five and no longer stirs out the door; he is too feeble. His sons, still 'young men', work the farm.

But there is also another, and more active, old fellow. Moroney is, perhaps, the 'strongest' farmer in Rynamona. His house in the village is the best in the townland, and his farm the best stocked. Moroney and his wife, at sixty, work it with the help of a son and daughter, both nearing thirty. Each year, Moroney stands for them all at the 'station' and the family's dues to the Church are greater than any other's in Rynamona. Such prosperity draws Moroney a bit apart from the villagers. Occasionally, in discussions of politics, he will identify himself with the Cosgrave party, as a man with a 'stake in the country'.

All this sets Moroney a bit apart. Some say there was an incident long ago when Moroney was young; but most have forgotten it. Nevertheless, the breach is there. Moroney never attends at the old men's house.

Furthermore, just as not all the old men of Rynamona come to O'Donoghue's, so are there also households which have no representative there. With them, however, the transition we saw in John Quinn's case has scarcely begun. Two examples will show you the case. O'Brien is a man of forty. He is married, his parents are dead, his

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children none older than fifteen. He is eligible in age and status, perhaps, but he does nothing to hasten the transition from young man to old. For O'Brien is a man of moody temper, given to gusts of anger. He goes out very little at all; when he does it is to the young men's gambles.

With Mackey, the process is hardly begun. Mackey's parents are dead, and the farm is his. But Mackey is only very recently married, and he sent off a brother to the towns only a year or so ago. He, too, still visits with the young men.

Therefore, with these easily accounted-for exceptions, the old men's house includes all the farm-fathers of complete families. It is made up of those who are married and in the words already quoted 'have a responsibility on them'. Informal as it is, it nevertheless unites these men of full status within the community and unites them, too, in such a way as to crystallize and canalize the influence their status gives them.

For this clique is built round discussion and decision, as its nicknames show us, because discussion and decision are its role for the community at large. In the persons of these old men, in their deliberation, the integration of the community is accomplished.

The old man's superior status in the family and in the community cannot be separated from his half of a mutuality which unites him to his subordinates, and gives him, as it were, his *noblesse*

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571 573 *oblige*. In the same way, the old men's clique operates.

For here in the old men's house, the countryman's way of life exerts its strongest sway upon him. It is the 'parliament' of his fellows. The topics brought up and debated upon are much the same from year to year and place to place. Agriculture, perhaps, comes first. Times of sowing, reaping and harvesting are debated. Prices are compared, innovations tested. Traditional methods receive their strongest support here, in the web of legend, proverb and reference to the past the speakers throw round them.

573 621 66 Much of the community's relation to the outer world takes its form here, determined in the old men's argument and agreement. In late years this has come to be called 'politics'. Petitions for relief road work, for expansion of agricultural prize schemes, most, in fact, of the business of the County Council and its committees originates on the side of local community in the discussions of the old men's *cuaird*. It is here, too, that the community reaches unanimity in party voting. In Rynamona, for instance, it is felt that the interest of all demands that there should be no dissension on the score of politics. Consequently, even O'Halloran, the 'drawer down', whose private views leaned in a different direction from those of the villagers, begged that no word of his heterodoxy be allowed to reach the ears of Rynamona. "I wouldn't want

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369 pattern which fashions many lifetimes and their desires, ambitions, achievements and failures. History and habit have wrought a series of pathways almost as definite as those of a termite's nest; but history and habit care little which termite follows them. Vigour, if it exists, can only be measured in the ease with which the path-follower travels along his course, and the change which his passing makes upon it.

I am sure I shall be accused of a thorough-going, even mystical determinism in human affairs. But let us follow the countryman and the townsdweller and see wherein my heresy is justifiable and wherein we may temper it.

369 443 ●571 In the communities my colleagues and I came to know, the country customer who brings his trade into the shop does so in response to the ties of kinship and friendliness. He 'goes with' a shopkeeper or publican, most often, as he 'coors' with his country friends. This is not his only incentive but it is his principal one. The social order of which he is a part embraces the town-dwelling shopkeeper; trade follows friendship. Many indeed are the shops which rely almost entirely upon this 'family trade'. Others know it to be the base upon which they must build.

But, we remember, the relation of kinship and friendship is reciprocal. The shopkeeper is bound in his turn to his 'family trade'. He owes obligation to the 'country cousins' who buy from him. In

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this way, a durable bond is created which exists over and above the economics of retail trade. It is of the kind that the countryman understands best; it charges the relationship with interest for him; it infuses it with sentiment, habit and reciprocal force. The shopkeeper, too, can rely upon it. Even though he be caught in the demands it makes upon him, he, nevertheless, can rely heavily upon its expectancies.

The ordinary modest retail shop or pub lives upon this tie. In many cases the tie infuses business with a social content which becomes co-extensive with the distributive function the shop performs in economic exchange. If the tie is weakened, if it dies, the shop weakens and dies too. And with it dies the family which derives livelihood, status and much of its corporate existence from that shop. For possession of the shop gives status and prestige and marks one's social place for the family, as much as does the 'farm of land' in the countryside. The family's 'name is on the shop' in much the same way as the country family's name is 'on the land'. In fact, almost symbolically, that name is literally on the shop, for in Ireland most often a single word —the family name—rather than any announcement of the type of retail trade carried on—hangs over the door to proclaim the shop's existence to the buying public. And when the 'family trade' dies, that name dies out of the shop world with it.

Business, then, in the market-towns is no frantic

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369 search for better qualities at lower prices. It is first
443 of all a technique in social relations. It demands an
571 orientation to a social order, that of the countryman-customer. Customer and retailer are brought together, not primarily through a cheap price nor an eye-compelling package, but through personalities and through blood and marriage bonds.

In this social context, the interests of shopkeeper and farmer coincide. If the shop is to live it must renew its ties with the rural hinterland; if the farm on the land is to grow in status and strength it must ally itself in a higher and wider social sphere, and in so doing, provide well for its dispersed children. This coincidence of interest determines much of the shopkeeper's life; through it the countryman has assimilated the town to his own way of life.

The town represents that higher and wider sphere for the countryman. Its life is that of a higher station in life; it is a centre of metropolitan prestige. So the farmer can come to send his son into a shop, as he sends a daughter 'into the land' in match-making, to provide him with a better place in life, to make a gentleman of him. The shopkeeper may need a young and pliable assistant in his business. He must have one upon whose kindred he can depend for extension of his trade. He takes in the farmer's son.

In this way, the first of the social bonds that unite the shop and the pub to the rural hinterland

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is created. A pathway is created along which human lives can move and play out their roles in social life. One of the farmer's sons can hope, with luck and affluence, to become a shop-assistant in the market-town. The portion he receives upon the dispersal of the farm family may well take the form of such a start in life. The farmer-father pays the boy's apprentice bond.

Formal apprenticeships still flourish in Irish country towns and nowhere better than in the shop or pub. The country boy is bound in custom and in law to his new employer and learns the alien way of business and social habit under a master's eye. Eventually he may succeed to a shop of his own, but first he 'must serve his time'. In this, rural Ireland has preserved an older form and charged it with its own peculiar content. The town-bred lad is seldom hired; he brings no rural kindred with him. Then, too, he is neither so impressionable nor so easy to control. The country lad, at first, is both. The shopkeeper taps the social order of the countryside in the person of his fledgling 'prentice boy.

But time brings ordered change in social life, in the town no less than in the countryside. The boy grows up; he serves his time. He acquires the experience and the technique which fit him for the role for which his parents paid his apprentice bond. Unless he is to retain a subordinate and unimportant place as shop-assistant for a lifetime, he must move on. He must acquire a shop himself.

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369 And so he does, if he humanly can, and to that end
443 his savings go.

● 571 So much for the farmer's son. In his person, he
166 represents a rough one-half of the countryside's invasion of the town. Yet he has sisters, too, at home upon the farm. The attraction of metropolis is no less great for them; they, too, must be provided for in the dispersal of the family upon the land. And with them goes the rural social order and the ties of kinship and community.

In this fact one can see another rough half of the
369 rural tide that sweeps into the ranks of business in
443 the towns. The shop-world taps its country hinter-
571 land again in the persons of the daughters of the
584 farms. The farmer must, if he can, marry his daughter off well; prestige and alliance go with her and the dowry which she carries as her portion. The shopkeeper must renew his ties with the countryside with each new generation, if the shop is to survive. In this coincidence of interest, again, a great deal of the marriage custom of the town revolves. The world of shops and pubs is caught within the ordered mechanism of change called *match-making*, in the same way as is the 'farm of land'.

Currently in country towns, the 'match' is the accepted type of marriage for publican and shopkeeper as much as it is for the farmer. The more sophisticated and more affluent shopkeepers, those who are close, or would like to be, to the higher

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status of merchant, would repudiate the rustic word. They would tell you that they make instead 'proper marriage settlements'. But their humbler fellow-tradesmen, whose shops have not such pretensions, are closer to the soil. They would admit what is for both of them the fact.

Consequently, one can find in the town, round the shop and pub, the same reorganization of human relationships that goes forward when the country match transfers land and household command to a marrying son. But there is one great difference. In the town one must bring a country-woman in.

If one analyses the census of marriage, age and occupation in the Free State made in 1926, one can see how general this reorganization is. It lies behind the statistics of a great part of the country. Without it, one cannot explain the striking uniformity that gives a roughly similar grouping of individuals by age, by sex, by marital conditions, in all the towns, except the large cities, of southern Ireland. For instance, shop-assistants everywhere are young unmarried men and women. Entrance into the ownership of shop and public-house takes place at the same age as does entrance into married state. Though the towns show no such marked extremes as do the country districts, marriage is long delayed and bachelorhood and spinsterhood are very frequent by world standards. One need not be a demographer or statistician to be struck with the parallel, and to wonder at such coincidence between

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369 the lives of the followers of occupations so dissimilar
443 as agriculture and retail commerce.

● 571 For this statistical correspondence overlies the
584 facts of social life. It merely expresses numerically the community of custom between country and town. If one cares to probe deeper, among the lives whose events the census records, one finds the custom at the root of human behaviour and human sentiment. One lays bare the outline of the balance in which the lives of townsmen and countrymen co-mingle in a larger whole.

For setting up a shop means setting up a family; it means marriage and the bringing-in of a country girl. There are exceptions, of course; custom is only a general imperative. Nevertheless, the country match is the generality.

Most often, the shopkeeper-father turns over the shop to the son who is to succeed him when that son marries. The daughter-in-law is the daughter of a farmer of the countryside. Her people 'walk the shop' as they would 'walk the land' in a country match. Long negotiation equates the dowry they give with the shop, its stock, its debts and its prospects. The two families cast the agreement into proper legal form. The shopkeeper transfers his control and his ownership to the son and the son's wife. The other shop children are dispersed and are provided for, where possible. The older generation retires; and a new family is established in business in the town.

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This is a smooth and orderly transition. The shop keeps its identification with human ties unbroken, from parents to children. It renews them once again, outward into the rural hinterland, in the persons of kindred the young wife brings 'into the shop'. The shop's life blood is renewed: literally, in the persons of the new master and mistress; socially, in the extensions of kinship and alliance; and economically, because trade follows personal ties.

The erstwhile apprentice boy, the farmer's son, who sets up 'on his own', follows the same course and makes a comparable transition. His marriage and his setting up his own shop most often coincide. His savings and the bride's fortune make possible, together, many a start in the life of the market-towns. Money buys the shop, credit may stock its shelves, but it is the social alliance, contracted in a country marriage, which supplies the trade upon which business rests.

One might ask here if the role of the sexes is not reversible. Might not the young man marry-in into the shop, and the girl rise from assistantship to full-fledged ownership? Naturally, such a course might well be taken; a social order allows many channels. It has not the rigidity of formal law. Or the girl may inherit a shop, or receive one, in the towns, as her particular portion. For to set up a daughter in a small shop is to provide well for her and to assure her station for her lifetime; even

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369 though little wealth will come to her through that
443 shop door. But in the scheme of social emphases,
571 these courses are the exceptions. Practically, for a
584 finally successful adaptation, the man must rise through an economic apprenticeship. His is the bread-winning role in social life. Only the bride regularly marries into her new station.

171 We are dealing here with a social form of nearly
369 universal occurrence where a society preserves
443 some trace of patriarchal form. It is a structural
571 necessity where class lines cross-cut a familistic
582 order. In India, for instance, it is immediately recognizable to the sociologist; for Hindu society incorporates into religious or formal law much of the social custom which other civilizations allow to flow on unheeded, unrecognized and unplanned. There, a lower caste often marries its daughters into the ranks of the next immediately above. The practice is known as hypergamy.

In Western Europe hypergamy is present, in some times and places notably so. The French have recognized it realistically. And here in rural Ireland, the countryman practises it, when he can, though he would be much surprised to hear his efforts on behalf of his daughter so pedantically described. Yet even though the name would mystify him, he would understand the substance of the custom. His daughter is to be married in such a way as to bring credit and alliance to the paternal line upon the farm. That line stands to

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gain a foothold in the world of shops. For that, the countryman is willing, currently, to pay about twice the usual dowry-price.

And in his willing adherence to custom, stability is achieved. The relationship between class and class, like that in the countryside between kindred and kindred, attains some permanence of form. The bride carries social bonds with her; in this case she carries them upward and townward into the shops and pubs of metropolis.

Her brother, on the other hand, carries with him another social function, in his capacity of male. His place is that of a potential fatherhood in a line of patrilineal descent. He carries on a corporate name upon the land or shop. Where he cannot inherit, in such descent, a sure place among his fellows, he must win it. The man is the bread-winner who carves out a place for his line; round him the family must be grouped. The woman, on the other hand, is the uniting force within the grouping. In this dichotomization of social role between the sexes, the Irish town and the Irish countryside, like the Church to which they both subscribe, are agreed. Hypergamy takes its form in the agreement. Along the lines laid down by the social bonds of apprenticeship and hypergamous marriage, the world of the market-town and the rural hinterland are united; along the same lines the flow of the country-people townward moves.

Once again, then, we see how complete the in-

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clusions of a familistic order are. The shop lives on and renews its strength. Its owner, whether he be townsman bred or migrant country lad, must 'bring a country girl into the shop'. Marriage, the establishment of a clientele, and the attainment of full status in one's class, all converge at a single point.

182 369 443 571 584

This order, one must not forget, is nothing esoteric; it is no more mysterious in the towns than it is in the countryside. Habit, sentiment and desire among the constituent human beings, both make it up and are made up by it. It is really the pattern into which all these melt to make a coherency of social life. Nowhere is this fact better illustrated than in the attitudes the Irish townsmen hold about their own positions within this inclusive pattern. For example, I give you the statement of one townsman, of shopkeeper rank, who could summarize the matrimonial aspirations of his fellows in terms of likes and desires. To us he may seem very conservative and early Victorian in his standards; but he is none the less aware of the demands life makes upon his kind:

"When a shopkeeper marries he wants to get a wife who can help him in the shop. He doesn't want one who has grand ideas about what a fine lady she is, because she is no good in the house and will only drive the customers away. That is why he goes to the country to find a wife. The country girl has been reared alongside her mother, she knows how

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to cook, sew, keep house, and she hasn't a lot of grand ideas in her head that the town girls have. When she comes to town, she feels she's got on in the world; while the town girl will only be wanting more than her husband can give her, or she won't do her share."

The speaker was a townsman, born and bred, but one can see that he endorsed the system heartily. He was an older man who had made his adaptations to social life successfully.

For others, for those whom the life of the town has caught up and who have acquired 'grand ideas', as the last speaker called them, adaptation is more difficult. The town, as I have said, engenders its own near-urban values. These come to conflict with those which unite the shop world to its countryside. Thus ambition is born, which means a severance of old ties. The ties become thwarting chains, and here and there a young man, caught within the pulls of two incompatible forces, becomes a bitter and scornful rebel.

One such young man, who found himself swept back into the ways of the market-towns after a brief flight into larger horizons in Dublin, fought against the fate that closed him in. He tells his own story: "This town is very dull. I don't understand what brings you here. The trouble with everybody here is that they are all misfits and that they are all in jobs they loathe. Successful men give you good counsel: they tell you to work hard and forget your

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182 troubles. But that is because they are in occupations
369 which they like. There is something glamorous
443 about being a solicitor, and everybody comes to
571 you. I would like to have been one. There will be
584 opportunity here when the older men clear out.

"I went off and studied in Dublin for a long while. Then my father died and my mother was stricken with paralysis and I had to come back here and work behind the counter, which I loathe. There's no one else now but my sister. Most shopkeepers make out through their family trade; and the only thing for me to do now is to marry some rich woman in from the country and then all her friends will come in. If you want to get married here there is nothing in it at all but to look out for a country girl. If you don't want to make a fool of yourself and go in for politics, you have to depend on your friends and your wife's friends, and if you can, you've got to marry a girl from the country. Then she'll bring in all her people for miles round, with all their relatives and their married families, and they're the ones that will buy your flour and sugar and tea. You can't get on without them."

182 In this rebellious young man's lament, another
369 aspect of the life of the towns appears and takes its proper place. The social order which demands the maintenance of personal bonds between countryman and townsman carries with it the seeds of change as well. The young man I have just quoted is caught within the very wheels of this change. A

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182 has no part. New blood fills its old place along the
369 converging lines of shops and pubs which make up the market-town. The new blood succeeds by virtue of the same ties which originally brought success to the first immigrants from the countryside. It brings with it new bonds of friendship and kinship.

This is a continual movement, a flow along definite pathways in which human lives work out their courses. The country family 'on the land', as we know, buds off with each new generation upon the farm. With the dispersed children go those relationships of a familistic order which unite the human beings in time and space. In this movement ever renewed, yet ever the same, the market-town is caught. Its shops, its pubs, its business life, the whole economic function it performs, flows with this movement.

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571 I have described this relation between the country and the town as though it had no other content than that of kinship bonds. This, of course, is a much too simple view. There are other pathways of success and there are other ties less intimate in nature. But one cannot understand these others till this first has been fully sketched out. For the bonds round kinship and friendship form the great all-pervading base to which all the others must be referred.

In this fact lies a new consideration. In retaining

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older custom and a more intense emotional and purely social organization of life, Ireland may well have preserved better than most nations of western civilization that unity of spirit which, underneath the surface of superficial strife, welds a nation into a single crucible. If the rationale of economic and social individualism with its attempted divorce between sentiment and logical self-interest seems lacking, the matter is no cause for lamentation or disdain. Who knows ultimately which is the better way? Each people seeks its own better union; unconsciously in social habit, consciously through religion, through politics, through detached and enlightened social thought. Either the conscious or the unconscious may be the more congenial, to nations as well as to individuals.

But danger lies in neglecting one entirely for the other. In the so-called Anglo-Saxon lands one feels that the unconscious organization of social habit has been neglected for the conscious. The logical has been too often mistaken for the ultimate. The all-powerful force of human sentiment has been neglected and too lightly regarded. We are prone to forget, with many an economist, that man not only does not, but cannot and will not, live by bread alone.

The social habit of rural Ireland entertains no such fallacy. In the light of this consideration, the rest of the adaptation of the countryman to his market-town acquires a depth of meaning which

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369 lifts it far beyond the plane of the mere economics
● 571 of the exchange of goods and the distribution of rural and urban products.

369 For example, a great deal has been said and written about the so-called 'credit system' of rural
571 Ireland. Much indignation has been wasted pro
452 and con upon it. The term refers to the economics of retail distribution in the market-towns. The farmer is often chronically in debt to his shopkeeper. He must live upon credit from fair to fair, paying off a little of his debt from year to year with the price his cattle bring him, but seldom working himself entirely clear. Such a system of chronic indebtedness has analogues in other countries. In Ireland, many commissions have investigated it and many attempts to break its hold have been made. The shopkeeper has been called, sometimes, alas, with cause, a usurer, a 'gombeen-man'. His power as creditor is very great. Where, as here, the farmer-debtor is dependent for his shop-bought foods and farm materials upon the shop, and where no other source of credit exists, that power is, of course, well open to abuse. This is the old problem of equity, the rights of creditor and debtor, and the controls each may put upon the other. It interests us here because in it the countryman's way of life is deeply involved. Let us see what peculiar content his social order gives it.

Any credit system exists, the economist will tell

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you, upon a peculiar state of mind in which expectancies are roughly balanced. He calls it, sometimes, 'confidence'. Should all the debts be called in and all outstanding obligations mature at a single blow, the system would perforce come to an end. If 'confidence' fails, he will tell you, and a movement to dissolve the fiscal ties grows swift and strong, a crash results. The world has had bitter experience of this fact in recent years.

Yet how little we know even today of that brittle and momentous thing we name 'confidence'! We have the word, but we have not yet decided to what factors it refers. Today we grope toward it in this way and that and wrangle endlessly about the means of creating and restoring it.

In the credit system of the market-towns of rural Ireland, the problem of confidence is a simpler one. Townsmen and countrymen have not yet reached the sophistication of using the word; but they are immediately concerned with the factors to which it refers in their special case. Those factors lie immediately before them, in the social habit which they both follow.

Thus, once the shop has established trade in the creation of the bonds uniting it to the countryside: through the 'family trade' of brothers, fathers, cousins, country wives and country 'prentice boys, that trade must be retained.

The shop must have a permanent expectancy of clientele; the farmer a permanent expectancy of

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receiving goods and shop articles necessary in the economy by which the farm family lives. The farmer cannot shop about, paying cash; his monetary income comes only periodically: largely in the spring and autumn fairs, to a lesser extent in weekly produce markets. Nor can the shopkeeper depend upon the casual passers-by, for their number is infinitely small. The needs of countryside and town are thus coincident.

In the countryside, I must repeat it once again, kinship and friendship, practically synonymous, provide the base for this coincidence. They make the same provision for the life of the town. They are reciprocal in nature; a favour given is a favour received. A good turn done, the 'friendly thing', creates the expectancy of reciprocity. On such a base a social relationship, reciprocal and permanent, is built.

So the permanence that each party demands is the permanence of social obligation. The credit system of the market-towns rests upon this base. In such a situation, the debt the farmer owes, like the fortune he gives in marriage, is a tangible monetary symbol of alliance and mutual obligation. To owe money is not merely to accept a convenience, for either townsman or countryman. To owe money is to accept a social obligation.

One can call this disposition the 'confidence' upon which the credit system of rural Ireland rests. Naturally, the relationship is not perfectly sym-

8:Arensberg E-5 (1932-1934) 1937
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metrical. The shopkeeper, as creditor, has the whip-hand. As an urbanite, he has the superior status. Yet he is no less under obligation to his debtor.

Habit and sentiment weave amusing identifications round this social pattern. For example, to pay off a debt entirely is perforce to dissolve the relationship. It is to destroy the mutuality of expectations. If one's debt is paid off one loses, not only a customer, but a friend, quite literally. The ordinary small farmer would pay off all his debt only in a fit of anger. By so doing he would mean to break the tie completely and irrevocably. Consequently, he remains upon the shopkeeper's books indefinitely, paying off periodically bit by bit, but never working himself entirely clear. Should he do so, the shopkeeper would be fully warned. He would know his customer was about to carry his trade elsewhere, and to enter a new tie better suited to his desires.

But the shopkeeper is obligated, too, in his turn. He may not dun his customer heedlessly. To do so is to cast doubt upon the customer's ability or willingness, not to pay a money debt but to meet his obligation. It is in fact to call into question the social status which is his. If the shopkeeper errs in this nice tact, the debt is paid forthwith perhaps, but the relationship is broken.

Nor can he press even a just claim too far. He may often have to carry credit endlessly, in hope of better days. This is part of his obligation, and

8:Arensberg E-5 (1932-1934) 1937
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369 boycott awaits the offender or the usurper. To
571 carry the claim to court is of no avail; one cannot
452 these days foreclose on land in rural Ireland. Per-
626 haps eventually he might win the farmer's holding
578 from him, in satisfaction of his claim. But one must remember the farmer's 'name is on the land'. A whole kindred and the whole community with which the kindred is related become his bitter and dangerous enemies. In a familistic world that enmity endures for life and longer, even into the next generation.

If even then, in spite of this, the shopkeeper persists and grinds his debtor down, still another sanction closes in upon him. The countryman will make his last resort to age-old folk-belief. He will tell you, for instance, that the shopkeeper or publican dies out because the curses of men and women and the tears and prayers of broken families have wreaked a sure retribution. What better way indeed to express, in traditional mystical and quasi-religious terms, the force of social censure? The countryside can bring its whole traditional scheme of attitudes to bear upon the offender; it can justify the forces of social and personal action in the realm of the awesome mysteries of belief before which all must bow.

369 Thus one can see why, in folk-belief, money it-
571 self is evil. It is one of those mysterious powers
452 which can bring, as though of its own awful and
626 incomprehensible efficacy, both good and evil in its

8:Arensberg E-5 (1932-1934) 1937
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train. The finder of the 'crock of gold' is stricken down in the flush of discovery; the townsman who rises too high and waxes too arrogant in his wealth may soon be stricken, too, and his family and its shop or public-house seems mysteriously to melt away.

Nor is this the only instance in which the social order overlies the economic form of debt and shapes it to its purposes. The debt, like the dowry, can and does become a measure of status, too. It is a sign of one's ability to support that network of social obligation which gives one's self and one's family a place in social life. In this fact, too, lies 'confidence'. The debt descends with the land or the shop from father to son. It moves onward with the progression of the generations. Many a small farmer pays off bit by bit the family debt of a parent or relative. Social obligation, in which pride and sentiment are involved, long outlives the statute of limitations. In this disposition, religion, sentiment and custom coincide. Many a shopkeeper till recently has assisted a boy or girl to emigrate, in the sure knowledge that his or her remittances would eventually reach his money-till.

In the days of the British, a Royal Commission found itself mystified by this so-called 'honesty'. The debt to the landlord, in the form of rent, seemed to them an honest debt. Yet the countryman, often as not, scorned honesty in that direction; though he might bend his last efforts in what

8:Arensberg E-5 (1932-1934) 1937
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369 seemed to the Commissioners a petty commercial
571 credit system.
452
626 They forgot, perhaps, that the landlord was removed from the identifications of sentiment and reciprocity which bound Irishman to Irishman and in which the ties between the countryside and the towns at last are formed. For a favour done is a favour received; and the debt is no more than the monetary sign of a social obligation. The 'confidence' its members have in the rural credit system is their trust in a social order.

178 What then can one say of that figure of Irish
668 public life who has contributed so much to humour
443 and story on the one hand, and to the bitterness and cynicism of his opponents on the other? I refer to the shopkeeper or publican in politics. His enemies have a stronger name for him; they call him a saloon-keeper and heap moral coals on his head. His friends, on the other hand, know him as a shrewd and genial soul.

[121] The student of social behaviour and the types it produces cannot and must not join either the moralists or the sentimentalists. He must appraise only for the facts; knowledge is not an ethical judgment, it is the analysis of what is. Those who occupy a social place may be good or bad, brilliant or pitiful; only the place can interest the anthropologist.

This type, the shopkeeper-publican in politics, reached its zenith in Ireland in the years from 1898 to the Sinn Fein times. Only in recent years, since

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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the rural community. It is convenient for the farmer to live among his fields near his stock—to look after the calving cow—and for the farmer's wife to keep a close watch on her poultry. (Not long ago, as we shall see, it was quite common for the cows to share the kitchen, and the cow-byre and dwelling house are still often under the same roof.) But for jobs requiring traction-implements or expensive tools the help of neighbours is necessary. The small family-farm can support only one horse, and thus there is a good deal of co-operation, perforce, among neighbours in tilling the ground, in harvest work and other operations. Both seed-time and harvest are, in the Irish climate, seasons of heavy pressure, when the work must be got through speedily, and nothing is so conducive to speed as a 'gathering' of neighbours among whom a spirit of rivalry acts as a spur. These relics of former communal habits are becoming less frequent with mechanization, but in many districts not less than a quarter of the small farmers possess only one horse, so that 'joining' or 'cooring' to make up a two-horse team is usual. In all such cases no money payments are made. A fairly common practice, however, is for the small farmer to buy a second horse at the February fairs and sell it in May after the spring work is finished.

In this and other ways the isolated houses are bound by ties of neighbourhood and friendship so that one may think of them as forming close-knit communities lacking only the physical nucleation of former times. The improving planners, eager to confer urban amenities on the countryside, would have 'housing schemes' and planned villages in place of scattered houses, but nothing could be less suitable under existing conditions. Physical independence is the price paid for good neighbourliness. The old clachans, necessary so long as the infield-outfield or rundale method of land-use was practised, became a hopeless anachronism when new tools and new crops brought with them a rotational system and hedged fields.

We have little knowledge of the nature of rural settlement in sixteenth and seventeenth century Ireland, but since partnership farming, presumably with clachans and rundale, is well attested in ancient Ireland and is known to have been widespread in the eighteenth century it is safe to suppose that there was a

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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XVIII

FAIRS AND GATHERINGS

THE Irish countryman enjoys nothing so much as 'a gathering' of people, and when he is forced to leave his native land he does not willingly settle down away from large urban centres. At home a crowd goes to his head like poteen. The daily routine of life on an isolated farm presents him with few opportunities for seeing people from outside his immediate neighbourhood, and on fine summer evenings his favourite pastime is to throw himself against a roadside ditch with a knot of companions and watch the passers-by. That the remarkably large attendances at rural churches and chapels owe something to the social needs of a scattered population is suggested by the phrase, applied to someone who arrives late at chapel: 'he missed the mass but hit the gathering'—he had something worth while for his trouble. In the Irish laws the freeman's rights of assembly were carefully defined: there were assemblies for transacting legal business (the oireacht), and others for commerce and games (the aenach) which came to be called fairs. With the coming of Christianity the traditional gatherings at sacred sites were transmuted into patterns (pardons), at which the new religion was quickened by practices of the elder faiths. In fact most gatherings served more than one purpose. The secret assemblies of Roman Catholics at 'mass rocks' in penal days no doubt also provided opportunities for social and commercial dealings, and the 'sacrament Sabbaths' of Presbyterian Ulster were great gatherings having something of the nature of fairs. Tents and booths were erected for the occasion, and indeed they were popularly known as 'holy fairs'.

Although the fair has lost something of its former significance in Northern Ireland, thanks to Government marketing schemes

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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XIX

FIXED FESTIVALS

THE great fairs, patterns and pilgrimages were attended by people who travelled considerable distances and included strange folk from the outside world, 'beyond the mountain men'. It was partly for this reason that they earned a reputation for lawlessness, especially where 'the gatherings' had outlived their original purpose and their real business had become subordinate to pleasure. A Nottingham Goose Fair or a Marlborough Mop Fair may still be conducted with propriety, but in Ireland they would probably have become Donnybrooks. Having little opportunity for regular social contacts as compared with the villagers of the ploughlands, a pastoral people makes the most of the periodic pauses in the cycle of the seasons.

For climatic reasons these great gatherings have been largely confined to the summer half-year between May and November. The winter festivals have been more local, involving the family and the townland rather than rival groups from different parishes and baronies. The feast days of both St. Briget and St. Patrick fall in early spring and their associations are more intimate and have more local colour than those of the saints of high summer such as St. John the Baptist. But the entire round of the year is liberally sprinkled with days of festival, and if we begin with St. Briget it is not merely because she was Irish-born but because her feast marks the beginning of the pastoral year. The blessed Bridie was a cowherd and is therefore associated with cattle and with such flowers as the dandelion—the Plant of Bride—yielding a milky juice which was believed to nourish the young lambs in spring. St. Briget's Feast was very popular and many superstitious practices, more or less

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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624 895 [793] [554] more independent of the curate (One in recent years quit his post, it is held, because he chafed at restrictions imposed on him by the priest.); also, they are apolitical and participate less in the gamut of local affairs. The prestige of the headmaster derives from his having been selected by the parish priest who supports his actions, his status as a "scholar," and the discipline that he exerts in the school with its vestigial effects on those who have graduated. Few islanders will openly contest his decisions in school and in civic matters.

The important nonacademic tasks performed by the headmaster are signing official forms—a duty that he shares with the bailiff, drawing up and witnessing the signing of wills, writing letters for the islanders, especially those directed to the county council and departments of the central government, and giving advice on such matters as the advisability of emigrating and of matrimonial matches. [591] Like the curates, the headmasters seldom have tried to direct community projects and social affairs, other than dances and inter-island competitions. The present headmaster considers himself atypical in many respects, in that he is youthful, has exceptional skill in playing the accordion, likes companionship and the festivities of party and pub, and has rapport with older boys and young men with whom he associates more than did his predecessors; as a result, he is the prime mover in social events—organizing dances and donating his musical talent. Older islanders often find him aloof and will apologize for "taking his time" when seeking favors of him.

895 593 Parents have little contact with the headmaster as regards the education of their children, and, although permitted and sometimes urged to do so, they seldom visit the school. They will consult with him about such matters as health problems of their children, but not about educational policies; nor do they complain to him 895 of his role as pedagogue—"What the teacher does is right." Because of the severity 896 of his discipline, and that of the other two teachers, and the fear that it arouses in [861] his pupils, parents use him as a threat in disciplining their children at home. This [123] is a distinction that he shares with the nurse and her hypodermic needle and me with my large size and robust manner; being the ominous *Fear an Stáisiún* ("Man of the Station," because my wife and I rented for a time an apartment in the coast guard station) made it difficult for me to obtain young people as respondents until many months had passed. As a result of the rigid discipline exerted in the school, maintained by actions which include even whipping and priestly imprecation, a degree of orderliness, quietness, and attentiveness on the part of the students is achieved which would arouse incredulity among American teachers and parents [171] unless witnessed. Discipline in the school merely reflects that in the home, and a favorite pastime of Irish living in the vicinity of Shannon Airport is to observe the interaction of American parents and their usually obstreperous offspring in the transient room there.

624 [829] Whereas the headmaster attracts the least amount of anti-authority sentiment of any other figure who regulates to a marked degree the lives of the folk, the king attracts the most. The latter is the senior of the two publicans, in age and role, whose home in Low Village accommodates guests as well as the shop and [123] pub. Information concerning him was as difficult to come by as that concerning curates whom I knew, in that he resented my presence and refused to cooperate

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> conditions appraised. . . . The community regulates its internal affairs through the *cuaird* as well. It is here public opinion is formulated. There is nothing formal about the decisions made upon the incidents arising from day to day. The local community has no implement with which to enforce its will. But it has the power of gossip and . . boycott (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:190–191).

Decisions of this sort and their sanctions in Inis Beag rest largely in the hands of government officials and the priest, headmaster, and king.

Many folk long have believed that the island needs a council with representatives from each of the four villages serving on it, to foster cooperation and to formulate policies which bear on the welfare of all. After independence in 1922, a move was made to form such a council, but the civil war interrupted the process; since that time, according to the islanders, the opposition of curates and king, none of whom have wanted their vested interests threatened, has succeeded in blocking the formation of such a body. Other forces at work, however, are the lassitude and ambivalence toward authority of the people, and their dislike and jealousy of one another. They complain of the lack of leadership, or of the "wrong" kind of leadership, as in the case of the priest and king; but they are unable or unwilling to expend the energy needed to get themselves organized and "pull together" for the common good. Often those who advocate the formation of a council will, in the next breath, express their dislike or distrust of its potential members, or a desire to remain independent of its collective will should it run contrary to their own. A vacationing emigrant who said, "We have no sense of civic pride and responsibility but think only of ourselves.", assessed the situation accurately.

Among the traits attributed to Inis Beag folk by nativists and primitivists are self-reliance, independence, and individualism. But the self-reliance of the islanders has become undermined increasingly since 1891 by a benevolent government; their independence is severely curtailed by restrictions imposed on them by curate, headmaster, king, and their fellows; and their individualism is a figment of literary imagination disguising a strict conformism. Inis Beag as much as any community is characterized by gossip, ridicule, and opprobrium, which gain their effectiveness as social control mechanisms from the deep concern of the folk with "saving face," and which serve to limit freedom of action and behavioral idiosyncracy. When asked to rank the major deficiencies of island life, the people almost without exception place the prevalence of malicious gossiping, along with poverty and the intrusion of the clergy into secular affairs, at the head of their list.

No matter how much the islanders detest gossiping when they are its victims, they nevertheless welcome every opportunity to engage in it. News of an event passes quickly by word of mouth from Low to Terrace Villages, and variations in the description of the event are usually numerous due to the distortions of rumor. In order to circumvent gossip, parties are organized at the last moment and invitations issued by small boys moving quietly from door to door in the night; persons will leave the island—sometimes to emigrate, visit the hospital with a serious illness, or enter an order—without previous announcement, running from their homes to the strand to board the last canoes for the steamer; and mail is posted just prior to the arrival of the steamer and picked up immediately after it

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• 591 is carried to the post office, for fear that the postmaster will open letters and talk publicly of their contents (or take money from them). It is customary for boys and young men to hide themselves in the darkness or behind fences in order to overhear conversations of passersby, or witness their misbehavior, which can be reported; this compels folk who move about after dark to conceal their faces and talk in whispers or low tones. When a person hidden in the darkness is accosted suddenly, he will vault a fence, run away, or crouch down and hide his face or draw a
[574] raincoat over his head and shoulders to avoid being recognized. Most social events
[612] and visiting take place after sundown, so that movements from one house to another will be unobserved.

626 Deviant behavior once learned of assures its perpetrators of becoming the focus of gossip and ridicule. But ridicule seldom is voiced in the presence of the victim; rather, he or she is told of it by relatives and acquaintances who have
[638] witnessed or, more commonly, been told of it by others. My ballad not only took
[639] advantage of the ubiquity of rumor, but its composition, aided and abetted by two dozen respondents, enabled me to discover the existence of a seldom revealed tradition of satirical balladry, common to the Irish, which has singled out for opprobrium many folk in the past. During three summer visits to Inis Beag following 1960, my wife and I were able to witness the singing of my song publicly. We learned that it, as others of its genre, is sung only before small gatherings, and whether or not it (or certain of its verses) is sung and by whom depends on
[123] the makeup of the assembled group. Since ridicule is almost never expressed in the presence of its victim or his kin or close friends, we were able to gain information about kinship relations and factionalism by noting the juxtaposition of balladiers and audiences and which verses were sung.

Courtship and Marriage

582 Marriages are fewer and are entered into later in Ireland than in any other
589 Western country. In 1951, approximately one-third of the men and one-quarter of
162 the women in Ireland between the ages of 55 and 64 years had never married, while two-thirds of the men and two-fifths of the women between 25 and 34 years of age were single. Celibacy and age of marriage figures for Inis Beag approximate those for the rest of peasant Ireland. In a population of 350 persons, 116 are married; 13 are widows; 3 are widowers; and 33 males over 23 years of age and 21 females over 17 are single. Since marriage occurs between the ages of 24 and 45 years for men and 18 and 32 for women, based on statistics extending back to 1911, only 18 men and 9 women (excluding 3 women who, because of physical disabilities, probably never will marry) are eligible for marriage. Not only are 34.4 percent of the males bachelors and 22.6 percent of the females spinsters, but the average marriage age for men in the period 1951 to 1960 was 35.5 years and for women 24.8 (compared to an average for rural Ireland of 34.7
582 years for men and 28.7 for women in 1946). The age span between spouses married during the past half-century ranges from the husband being 21 years older than his wife to 4 years younger, but the average age span has been between 8 and 12 years for each of the five decades. The number of marriages per decade has been

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fireplace has a profound psychological significance in Inis Beag and, in a sense, is a force drawing the family together. Now that only three hookers transport peat from the mainland—when in the past there had been more than a hundred—and the price of turf increases considerably year by year, coal or bottled gas stoves are being used by most families. Although coal and gas are cheaper to burn, and coal throws out more heat than turf, the coal fire in the hearth does not foster camaraderie as does the peat fire. The replacement of fireplace by stove and the "stink" and dirtiness of coal are denounced incessantly by the islanders, and the disappearance of the "sweet smell" of burning sods and a multitude of customs associated for generations with the peat fire are lamented.

Many functions are served by "the room." It can accommodate the displaced parents after their son has married, if all agree, for it has a bed which can serve them (as well as distinguished guests, spectators at parties, and now tourists and summer language school students). This chamber is the best kept of the house, with the newest and most valuable of the furniture and often a linoleum floor, and its walls and ceiling are whitewashed or painted frequently. Family heirlooms and objects of sentimental value, which are parted with only as a last resort, are found here. Religious pictures adorn the walls, and on the mantel over the fireplace are photographs of the family going back generations, especially of those who have emigrated or are deceased. When "the stations" are performed every two decades in the cottage, the mass is read in "the room," and certain rubrics used in this ritual are afterward kept here. Finally, the chamber serves as a dance floor when the crowd at a party in the house overflows the bounds of kitchen, hall, and street.

The social universe of the islanders is divided into four segments: close kin or "friends" (Previously, I have used this word in the American sense.), distant kin or "those I have a relationship with," other islanders, and outsiders or strangers. "Friends" normally extend generationally to include ego's parents, grandparents, children, and grandchildren, and collaterally to include his affines (spouse's kinsmen), siblings, and first, second, and third cousins—termed, respectively, "four-of-kin," "six-of-kin," and "eight-of-kin."[1] With the intensification of inbreeding, most of the folk are eight-of-kin, and this is why the parish priest examines the genealogies of families at the time of the match. Marriage between first cousins is forbidden, between second cousins demands permission from the bishop, and between third the consent of the parish priest. Distant kin are relatives extended collaterally beyond eight-of-kin, while outsiders include the curates, teachers who are not islanders, lighthouse keepers, the Dane, tourists of local renown, and, as I have just indicated, even in-marrying women and descendants of recently arrived immigrants (also, of course, inquisitive anthropologists).

Although inheritance and succession are patrilineal on the island, descent is bilateral—traced through both agnatic (father's) and uterine (mother's) lines --with a strong agnatic bias.

[1] These positions are pictured horizontally (generationally) and vertically (collaterally) in block form in Arensberg and Kimball 1940:96 in the chapter "Kinship System." The Irish kinship system is common to peoples of Western Europe and America (the Eskimo type), and much of the kinship information reported by Arensberg and Kimball applies to Inis Beag.

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Women tend to drink very little at parties, in part because of the embarrassment caused them by visiting the outside toilet with men looking on.

The party commences with several sets danced in quick succession. There is room for only one dance group initially because of the small size of the kitchen and the large number of guests filling the house. It is difficult to move about the two rooms with the press of bodies, and the crowd within is matched by the cluster of men around the front door awaiting their turn to dance. Unmarried women tend to sit and stand on one side of the kitchen and men on the other, while married people congregate in the other room. Children in their best dress sit quietly together and watch the festivities tirelessly until the guests depart. Crowding at the party necessitates that men and women will be pressed together both as dancers and viewers, and that persons will sit on one anothers' laps, including women on the laps of men occasionally. The islanders strain to display indifference, as they do in watching a full-bodied woman step dance, at least until the intake of alcohol causes a few to betray their emotions.

Usually two or even three accordionists (and the visiting anthropologist with his phonograph) are invited to attend, and they spell one another. After an hour or so of dancing, singers and step dancers perform between the sets while stout is poured; they may be called out by the urging of the guests, or by the host or one of his choosing who acts as a master of ceremonies and directs all of the activities of the party. Stout may be distributed during the sets, but most hosts prefer that it be done during pauses, so that less is spilled by the dancing and milling crowd. The pourer with his bucket follows the movement of the mugs and glasses as they are passed about, and each man on having his container filled drains it quickly and surrenders it to another nearby. Most of the young men visit the pubs before the party and may do so again once or twice before the pubs close.

Midway during the night, the table of "the room" is set, and refreshments are served to all of the guests in shifts. First the women are served, then the children, followed by the young men who do not drink stout, and finally the other men. Both in viewing the proceedings from benches and in eating, the children are separated as to sex. The menu resembles that of the usual Inis Beag meal and includes tea, bread spread with butter and jam, cakes, and sometimes hard candy. Between the many sittings, the dishes and utensils are washed in a bucket and the table reset. Dancing continues in the kitchen during this period, and after everyone is served the table is moved to a corner and a second set is formed. The remainder of the night is spent in dancing, but the pauses which punctuate the sets become longer and the songs and step dances by guests more frequent as dawn approaches.

My wife and I sponsored a Christmas party in 1959 in the home of an islander and invited the entire population of Inis Beag. Two hours after midnight, when I was absent briefly escorting an old man to his cottage, a fight broke out between two family factions which sent all of the guests scurrying home. The following day, everyone whom we met commiserated with us "for the shame of it," and we were told of many other parties in the past which had ended in the same manner, so that we would not think our affair a failure. In recent years, "rowdyism" on the part of youths who have "taken too much" has increased at

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parties, so that many islanders will not give them for fear of possible damage to houses and outbuildings. The reason why one man is assigned to the barrel of stout and a "firm" master of ceremonies is favored is to curb drunkenness and factional fighting. Small parties are coming to replace the large ones of the past, with invitations tendered secretly and at the last moment to avoid attracting "hooligans." The format, however, has remained the same.

Pubs

Both pubs in Inis Beag do a thriving business. There are some folk who purchase all of their provisions, drinks, and tobacco in only one of the pubs, others who buy most of them in one but occasionally do business in the second, and still others who scrupulously balance their buying between the two. The first group is composed of near kin of the publicans, and the second of those who are economically beholden to the king and utilize his pub mostly, or who dislike him and give the lion's share of their business to the other. This pattern is broken only when one of the pubs is out of a commodity which the other has in stock, one of them is closed for whatever reason, a "big night" is taking place at one of them, or a dispute interferes. During the day, provisions are purchased in the shop—by children, women, and sometimes men; the women and children make their visits as brief as possible, but the men are likely to stay for at least one "pint" of stout and a "smoke." Other visitors in the daytime are chronic drinkers, men who are working nearby and use the pub for a break, and men reciprocating for economic services rendered. The pub is the province of the adult males at night, and the only women who enter are the teachers, visiting emigrants, and tourists. Seldom is step dancing done unless outsiders are present, and when women are in the audience they will be called out to form a set or to dance solo or be paired with an islander. Some nights only two or three of the folk will put in an appearance at the pub, but on other nights as many as 20 persons will crowd into the narrow room, while others in the hallway and outside wait to take their turn inside. Another half-dozen men may sit in the snug drinking and talking together privately.

Men come to the pub after dark usually in groups of two, three, or four. Reciprocity dictates the drinking procedure, with each man in a group taking his turn at "standing a round" for as long as the evening lasts. Men who do not like to drink much or have little money will come to the pub singly or with another in like circumstances, so that they will not become victims of the custom of reciprocation. My first experience with this custom—in 1958 in a neighboring island—almost ended in tragedy for me, as I was with six men who insisted on drinking "glasses" of whiskey; only my deep commitment to research and a heavy meal a short time before prevented a "third round knockout." The first hour after the men arrive in the pub is a quiet one, as they sit in silence or whisper to one another while drinking pints in rapid succession. As their shyness gradually is overcome by alcohol, they become more talkative and speak in louder tones to a wider circle of their fellows. At least two hours must pass before individuals have "courage" enough to tell stories to all assembled or to sing. The best singers will be

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The best singers will be called out with shouts of encouragement from the others, and some men need as many as five minutes of urging before they will perform. In the case of the man who is particularly reticent about singing, those sitting on either side of him will grasp his hands with one of theirs and swing his arms backward and forward until he commences to sing in the suggested rhythm of the arm movements. Sometimes this continues throughout the song, and later in the evening it is done with other singers as the sense of male "camaraderie" grows apace.

Seldom does fighting break out in the pub, for the publican will not serve drinks to those whom he feels have taken too much, and he will order everyone out if there is a threat of violence. Visiting women invariably are treated politely no matter how boisterous the men become. On a nearby island, my wife and I saw a Yank brutally beaten and thrown out of a pub by several men when he spoke "disrespectfully" in Gaelic before us and another visiting women. An elderly widower of Inis Beag was much criticized when after dancing with my wife in a pub he brushed his check against hers briefly in his exuberance; she thought nothing of it, but many of the folk apologized to her for his action, and our relationship with the man thereafter was strained. Visitors must be careful about how they participate in the drinking pattern of the pub. If they drink by themselves or only with outsiders and never buy rounds for the islanders present, they are despised secretly; but if they stand rounds often with the obvious end in view of earning acceptance, they are considered "fools." The several folk who will take advantage of a stranger who is generous with rounds in the pub are subjected to severe censure. Each year, my wife and I donate a barrel of stout to a pub on St. Partick's Day to be drunk by islanders who come that night—to commemorate the shipwreck and rescue (whose anniversary is nine days before); a verse of my ballad refers to certain folk who will not accept drinks unless they can reciprocate—"People will say the free stout brought me in."

months; less than a dozen crews now fish regularly, and most fish are consumed locally rather than exported. Government subsidies of many sorts and remittances from relatives who have emigrated supplement the cash economy. The government further aids the islanders by not collecting "rates" and by setting low rents on land. Income information is as difficult to come by as data on sex, disputes, and pagan religious retentions; since the people do not wish to jeopardize their unemployment benefits (most of them receive the "dole") and old age pensions and fear taxation in the future, they are secretive about sources and amounts of income.

More important than the formal political structure of Inis Beag are the local informal system and social control techniques of gossip, ridicule, satire, and the like. Crime is rare in Inis Beag, and there are no "guards" stationed there. The island is seldom visited by politicians, and many inhabitants are either apathetic or antagonistic toward the county and national governments. Those asked to account for their antigovernment attitude cite widespread nepotism and corruption among officials, the slight differences between the platforms of the two major parties, and "foolish" government schemes in Inis Beag—usually instituted without consulting the islanders. Government aid is sought and even expected as a "right," but it is seldom considered adequate. Taxation in any form, especially of tobacco and stout, is bitterly opposed.

The informal political system is dominated by the curate, the "headmaster" of the national school, and a self-appointed local "king." In the past, the amount of influence exerted by curates has varied; some have been concerned mostly with fulfilling spiritual responsibilities, while others have attacked by sermon, threat, and even physical action such activities as courting, dancing, visiting, gossiping, and drinking spirits. Anticlerical sentiment (seldom manifested in overt acts) is as strong as, or stronger than, its antigovernment counterpart. The clergy are said to interfere too much in secular affairs, to live too "comfortably," to be absent from the island too often, and to act overly aloof and supercilious. The most outspoken anticlerics assert that curates have employed informers, allocated indulgences, withheld the sacraments, and placed curses ("reading the Bible at") in their efforts to regulate the secular life of Inis Beag. The headmaster, appointed and rigidly supervised by the parish priest and curate, presides over social events and serves as an adviser to the islanders in many matters, in addition to carrying out his official duties.

Inis Beag lacks a class system, and the status symbols which affect

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human relationships are few. There is, in fact, little difference in the style of life between the most and the least prosperous of the islanders. The web of kinship rather than the possession of status attributes, for the most part, determines who will interact with whom and in what manner. Land and money are the principal symbols, with formal education and influential relatives (particularly priests, nuns, and teachers), on the mainland and abroad, becoming more important. Two generations ago, strength, courage, economic skills, and musical and storytelling abilities were highly regarded as well, but acculturation has lessened their significance.

Although there are fifty-nine nuclear families, only thirteen surnames exist today. There is much inbreeding, as might be expected, and the church carefully checks the genealogies of prospective spouses to ascertain their degree of consanguinity. Courtship is almost nonexistent, and most marriages are arranged with little concern for the desires of the young people involved. Late marriage and celibacy are as prevalent in Inis Beag as elsewhere in Ireland. The average marriage age for men is thirty-six and for women twenty-five, and 29 percent of those persons eligible for marriage are single.[3] The functions of the family are mainly economic and reproductive, and conjugal love is extremely rare. A sharp dichotomy exists between the sexes; both before and after marriage men interact mostly with men and women with women. The average family has seven offspring, and many women are unhappy about being forced by the unauthorized decree of local priests to produce as many children as possible. They feel that the constant bearing and rearing of offspring increase their work, restrict their freedom, and perpetuate the poverty of their families. Jealousy of the greater freedom of men is commonly expressed by women who have many young children. Mothers bestow a considerable amount of attention and affection on their offspring, especially on their sons. However, tensions between fathers and sons which develop in childhood often flare into scarcely repressed hostility

[3] Twenty-nine percent of those islanders of marriageable age are single. This rises to a high of 37 percent among first and second generation Inis Beag emigrants, indicating the actions of more than just economic causes. Irish scholars, for obvious reasons, tend to stress economic and other (climate, race, English oppression, the famine, loss of the Irish tongue, etc.) monistic causes in their analyses of culture and personality phenomena. Inadequate statistics for second and third generation migrants from Inis Beag suggest that the celibacy rate lowers markedly only when descendants of immigrants dissociate themselves from Irish ethnic communities and Irish-American priests. Ethnographic research is sorely needed among Irish of several generations in the countries to which they have migrated to probe this and other phenomena.

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later on, particularly in those families where competition for the inheritance of property is engendered among siblings by the fathers' attempts to ensure favored treatment in old age.

Men are far more active socially than are women. The latter are restricted by custom mostly to visiting, attending parties during the winter, and participating in church-associated activities. Many women leave their cottages only to attend mass, wakes, and funerals or to make infrequent calls on relatives; my wife and I talked with some elderly women who had not visited other villages or walked to the back of the island for thirty or more years. Men not only attend parties with their womenfolk but go to dances during the summer, frequent the pubs, play cards almost nightly during November and December (the period when once people congregated to hear storytellers), visit the homes of kin and friends or meet along the trails at night, and range the entire island and the sea about it in their economic pursuits. Before the age of benevolent government, women shared many economic tasks with men, such as collecting seaweed, baiting lines, and gutting fish. But now they tend to household chores and only milk cows and perform some of the lighter farming jobs with their fathers and husbands.

The island folk are devout Catholics, despite the fact that they are critical of their priests and hold pagan religious beliefs. Youth of Inis Beag overtly disallow the existence of other than church-approved supernatural entities. However, their elders cling to traditional pagan beliefs and practices (many of which are Druidic in origin) about which they are extremely secretive for fear of being ridiculed by outsiders and their more skeptical neighbors. The non-Christian array of spiritual beings includes various spirits and demons, ghosts, witches, phantom ships, and animals and material objects possessing human attributes and volitions. Prominent among the spirits thought to inhabit Inis Beag are the trooping and solitary fairies, sea creatures, mermaids, and the banshee. The most formidable of the demons is a pooka which lives in a Bronze Age burial mound and roams the strand and common land at night altering its shape and size at will; during the day it will twist the limbs of unwary persons who choose the hill for a resting place. Ghosts, called "shades," are frequently seen after dark performing economic tasks. They are thought to be doing penance in purgatory, which embraces the earth as well as a spiritual locus; this is one example of the many reinterpretations of Christian and pagan belief effected by the islanders. The only form of witchcraft practiced today is the casting of the evil eye. At least three persons, suitably ostracized, are believed to be able to perpetrate evil

regarded as a highly suggestive phrase, and I have seen it redden cheeks and lower glances in a pub. Both step- and set-dancing are practiced in Inis Beag, although the former type is dying out. This rigid-body dancing, from which sex is removed by shifting attention below the hips, appears to have originated in Ireland during the early nineteenth century. The set patterns keep partners separated most of the time; but, even so, some girls refuse to dance, because it involves touching a boy. Inis Beag men, while watching a woman step-dance, stare fixedly at her feet, and they take pains to appear indifferent when crowding at a party necessitates holding women on their laps and rubbing against them when moving from room to room. But they are extremely sensitive, nevertheless, to the entire body of the dancer and to these casual contacts, as are the women. Their covert emotional reactions (which become overt as much drink is taken) are a form of catharsis.

SEXUAL REPRESSION: ITS HISTORICAL CAUSES

Analysts of Irish character have put forth various hypotheses to account for sexual repression, ranging from the sophisticated to the absurd. The former can be classified under three rubrics: historical (e.g., the influence of ascetic monasticism, Augustinianism, and Jansenism), sociocultural (e.g., the Oedipus complex in the Irish family and male solidarity), and psychological (e.g., masochism). Beyond serious scientific consideration are such hypotheses as the loss of the Irish tongue, lack of a Catholic aristocracy, fear of Protestant libertinism, and the ever-appealed-to factors of race, climate, and the famine. In the following paragraphs, I will quote excerpts from Irish authors and from critical observers of the Irish scene, including social scientists, rather than dissect their views myself.

Paul Blanshard, in his polemical but insightful (and, in my estimation, often understated) work, *The Irish and Catholic Power,* says that "whatever the explanation, the total sexual expression of the Irish people is much less than it is in other countries, and that the Catholic crusade against normal sexual life has actually created a nation of men and women who try to drown their fundamental instincts." In attempting to account for sexual repression on such a scale, he writes:

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identification, varying in a continuum from repressed and latent homosexual balances through to added displacements and distortions that are either pallid asexuality or fearful and bizarre misidentifications. Since the culture does not condone sexual expression or postpones and then rigidly defines it in marriage . . . latent homosexual balances [were hypothesized] for this group, no overtly sought interpersonal manifestations, and a facade of asexual misogyny varied only by the most personalized and bizarre female identifications. . . . [The] basic personality has stamped into it such feelings as male inadequacy, the masculine protest, hostility toward females, and the kind of latent homosexual feelings which produce a further sense of sin and guilt (Opler and Singer 1956: 15–18).

Among the seven diagnostic variables utilized by the researchers, the Irish patients ranked highest in the "Sin, Sex, and Guilt Ideology" (93 percent of the sample) and "Homosexuality Types" (90 percent of the sample latent, none overt) categories.

Complementing the Oedipus complex in the etiology of sexual puritanism is male solidarity. It has a long history in Ireland—revealed in legend and modern literature alike—and is instrumental in delaying marriage and making for marital maladjustment. Freudian psychologists see it as one of the many possible by-products of the "universal" Oedipus complex—"male inadequacy, the masculine protest, hostility toward females, and . . . latent homosexual feelings"; but many anthropologists (especially structural-functionalists) analyze it as a sociocultural phenomenon, for it is found in societies in which the Oedipal configuration appears not to exist. Elizabeth Coxhead, in discussing Lady Gregory's play, *Grania*, alludes to the tragic plight of most Irish women, past and present.

Grania is . . . a play in which a woman is ousted from an emotional relationship between two men. The "love" is that of man for man, of brother for brother; it is loyalty to the warrior band, and a corresponding resentment of the woman who takes away the warrior's freedom, makes trouble with his comrades, distracts him from his purpose in life. It is an attitude which filters through the play as light filters through crystal; which runs through the heroic Irish sagas. . . . Its continuing validity was borne out by all Lady Gregory had observed in the world around her, the world of the "loveless Irishman," the peasant society which relegated women to serfdom, the middle-class intellectual society which left them only donkey-work. . . . such a view of the Irishwoman's role, of her relegation to insignificance and her resentment under it, is not exclusively feminine. It is abundantly confirmed by Synge. His heroines . . . are creatures caged and raging, given no scope for their powers, condemned to love men who are poor things

beside them and do not really care for them at all. O'Casey's Juno offers further positive support, and on the negative side, so to speak, are the quantities of second-rate Irish plays and stories that have for their mainspring a panic dislike of women, invariably represented as shrews, hussies, and Aunt Sallies at whom anything can be thrown. A woman has only to put her nose into a saloon bar . . . to realise that Almhuin is with us still (Coxhead 1961: 145–146).

In concluding this section, I would like to mention briefly an ingenious hypothesis of the cause of sexual repression in Ireland, presented by Sean de Freine in *The Great Silence*. His book is the most "convincing" expression to date of what linguists (outside of Ireland) term "language determinism," a monism still popular in that country a century after the advent of the Irish nativistic movement. Displaying a lack of knowledge both of contemporary linguistic theory and of sexual ethics in the "heart of the Gaeltacht," de Freine says:

> The Irish are often accused of a Jansenist approach to sex, which is supposed to date from the French influence in the Irish Church in and just after the penal times. But this attitude did not exist in Irish Ireland and does not exist in the Gaeltacht today. It would seem as though, when English spread throughout the country, it was English Puritanism and not French Jansenism, which brought about the change. For example, certain English words with prudish connotations were accepted, with their connotations, by the Irish, while their equivalents in Irish have no such nuances. In its English setting Puritanism was kept in reasonable check by the other native traditions: In Ireland, as the old culture died, there were no such natural checks to contain it (de Freine 1966: 164).

Space does not permit me to consider other causal factors listed earlier which are equally untenable.

SEXUAL REPRESSION: ITS INCULCATION

The inculcation of sexual puritanism in Inis Beag must be examined in four contexts: the role of the curate, the influence of visiting missions, enculturation in the home, and what I will term "secular social control" —the behavioral regulations imposed on themselves by Inis Beag adoles-